

The Tocco of the Greek Realm:
Nobility, Power and Migration in Latin Greece
(14th – 15th centuries)

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Nada Zečević

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Nobility, Power and Migration in Latin Greece

(14th – 15th centuries)



Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Eastern Sarajevo

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*To Theodora and Zoran,
with infinite gratitude for their love and patience*

Foreword

When Carlo I Tocco was born in the western Greek region of the Heptanese around the year 1374, the Angevin power in Naples, from where his family hailed and under whose flag they sailed, was approaching its final stage. The kingdom ruled by Queen Joanna I had already been shaken by internal strives on the one hand and by outsiders who infiltrated into the family slowly to appropriate its assets and claims in Naples and elsewhere, on the other. The Angevin decay was apparent in the cultural scene of their kingdom, where the symbiosis of Provencal and local practices yielded grotesque forms of decadence in architecture, literature and arts. Across the Adriatic, in Albania and Greece to which the Angevins aspired, Queen Joanna had already lost immediate power over most of her family's possessions and imperial claims. She could not help that the administration in the Peloponnese and at Corfu be replaced by the officers of the Greek court in the Morea and the Venetian *Signoria*. The local strongholds were frequently destroyed by arson or changed lords between local chieftains and foreign soldiers. The final years of Queen Joanna's reign brought to the Angevin Greece a gamut of political players with diverging interests and intersecting loyalties. The Byzantine imperial tradition was being restored in Greece by the Despotate of Morea and the two maritime republics, Venice and Genoa, clashed over the power in the Aegean. The heirs and successors of the western knights of the Fourth Crusade kept fighting among themselves to keep their domains in Greece. The Balkan peninsula was being raided by Turkish, Navarre's and Hospitaller groups; the region's political map was additionally colored by local lords of Greek, Serbian, Bulgarian or Albanian origin who used every conflict between the major powers to extend the borders of their domains. It is in this setting on the edge of a long-lasting chaos that the Tocco family tried to keep its presence and power in Western Greece – only to end with the family's forced return to Naples.

The present account of the Tocco history in Greece emerged from the context of a wider comparative research initiated at the Central European University's Medieval Studies Department in Budapest during the mid-1990s. Attempting to examine Central-, Easter- and South-Eastern European medieval nobility through case studies, our project included an in-depth study of particular medieval family groups that rose above other common regional clans or kindreds. Applying methods of historical anthropology, this new focus engendered the survey of the regional noble families through their internal organization, features of prominence and methods of exercising their power in the historical context. In the framework of this research several studies, dissertations and articles were written on medieval kindreds in Croatia, Hungary, Poland, Transylvania and other parts of late medieval Central and Eastern Europe.¹ Placed in this context, the Tocco family – far from being unknown to students in the region – offered an interesting example for the interaction of internal factors and external relationships with their social advancement and political rise in Angevin Greece. This approach enabled Nada Zečević to draw a many-sided picture of the Tocco as *de facto* rulers of the Ionian islands, Epirus and the Peloponnese. This included, on a micro level, portraying individual characters whose lives and politics highly depended on their family bonds and personal ties with the major regional powers of their time: Venice, Genoa, the Angevins, the Ottomans, and the Greeks.

In order to present the Tocco's internal relationships and strategies in a wider historical context, Zečević had critically to reflect upon the various sources on the family's history in Angevin Greece. The significant lacunae of the written records (well known for every issue connected with the Neapolitan Archives destroyed by the Nazis) had to be filled in with archaeological data or at least reports on the scarce material remains such as the family seals and inscriptions. Only such an interdisciplinary approach made an additional reflection possible on long forgotten figures or episodes of Tocco lives frequently misinterpreted by later family tradition and by historians of the Renaissance and the early modern era.

While essentially a historical analysis, the present study of the Tocco rule in Greece deals not only with the significant episodes of their past. Zečević sought to review the social phenomena behind the kindred's evolution: how did they come to rule the Heptanese, how did they attach themselves to the most powerful regional players, and how did they function amidst various powerful suzerains? A junior branch managed to become independent and assume full control of the Heptanese through a

combination of loyalty to precisely calculated, sometimes even secret, political and familial alliances. Pragmatism that enabled the Tocco exercise political and military power, but, at the same time, actively direct the economy of their domain, enabled the family to retain their power in Greece even during their darkest moments. The Tocco's precarious balancing act between the loyalties to their original suzerains of Naples, the Venetian Republic, the Byzantine imperial court and the Turkish local commanders seem to have been successful for a quite a long time because of a significant family solidarity.

I believe that by trying to respond to these questions, Nada Zečević succeeded in drawing a new and convincing picture of one noble family's strategies and modi of operation that were in no ways unique in the region – or elsewhere, to boot. The new details and conclusions revealed in this account on the family's micro-history and the role they played in the region will surely require a new assessment of the Tocco as an example of late medieval–early modern elites' handling the changing conditions in a changing world.

János M. Bak, Professor Emeritus
Department of Medieval Studies
Central European University, Budapest

¹ Some of the results of this project were summarized by me in "La noblesse en Europe centrale au moyen âge et au début de l'époque moderne," in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du moyen âge: Actes du colloque international organisé par l'Université d'Angers*, ed. N. Coulet and J. – M. Matz, 149–58 (Rome: École française de Rome) and in ten short papers in "Nobility in Medieval Central Europe – A Comparative Approach," *East-Central Europe/l'Europe du centre-est: Eine wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift* 29 (2002, 1–2): 131–248.

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This monograph is a revised and supplemented version of my doctoral thesis *The Tocco of the Greek Realm (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries)* defended in 2004 at the Medieval Studies' Department of the Central European University in Budapest, Hungary.¹

My interest into the Tocco family and the Greek episode of their evolution opened up to me various perspectives of the medieval Mediterranean and its modern interpretations. The materials related to this family are scattered across various countries and institutions, so collecting them, as well as processing them in the academic frameworks of the transitional 'New Europe' were demanding tasks that lasted for more than a decade. I would have never been able to overcome these challenges had there not been the support and technical help of the following institutions:

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¹ For technical reasons, in this monograph I refer to the scholarly literature published on the field before 2013.

General Abbreviations

*with notes on general reference and quotation
of personal names and toponyms*

Primary Sources:

AAV	<i>Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV</i> . Ed. Giuseppe Valentini. 3 vols in 25 fascicula. Palermo: Centro Internazionale di Studi Albanesi, 1967–75.
ASN, ATM	Archivio di Stato di Napoli, Archivio di Tocco di Montemiletto.
ASV	Archivio Segreto Vaticano.
ASVen	Archivio di Stato di Venezia.
Croloan	“Τὸ χρονικὸν τῶν Ἰωαννίνων.” Ed. Leandros Branoussis. Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου 12 (1962): 57–115.
CroMor	<i>The Chronicle of Morea</i> (versione Graeca): <i>a history in political verse relating the establishment of feudalism in Greece by the Franks in the thirteenth century</i> , ed. John Schmitt, London: Methuen Co. 1904.
CroToc	<i>Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di Anonimo</i> . Ed. with translation into Italian Giuseppe Schirò. Rome: Accademia nazionale de Lincei, 1975.
DA	Hrvatski državni arhiv (Croatian State Archives), Dubrovnik.
FA	Mazzoleni, Jole, and the Neapolitan archivists, eds. <i>Fonti Aragonesi</i> . 12 vols. Naples: Presso di Accademia, 1957–83.
Hopf, <i>Chroniques</i>	Karl Hopf, ed. <i>Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues publiées avec notes et tables généalogiques</i> . Berlin: Weidmann, 1873.

- MM Miklosich Franz and Joseph Müller, eds. *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*. 6 vols. Vienna: Gerold, 1860–90.
- MonPel Chrysostomides, Julian, ed. *Monumenta Peloponnesiaca: Documents for the History of the Peloponnese in the 14th and 15th centuries*. Camberley, Surrey: Porphyrogenitus, 1995.
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*. Ed. gen. Jacques-Paul Migne. Vol. 217 (Paris: apud ed., 1890).
- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Graeca*. Ed. gen. Jacques-Paul Migne. 166 vols. (Paris: apud ed., 1857 sq).
- PP Παλαιολογία καὶ Πελοποννησιακά. Ed. Spiros Lampros. Vols. 1–4. Athens: Επιτροπή Σπ. Λαμπροῦ, 1912–30.
- Reg. Ang. Filangieri, Riccardo, and the Neapolitan archivists, eds. *I Registri della Cancelleria Angioina*. 45 vols. Napoli: Presso di Accademia, 1950–2000.
- RIS *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*. Ed. gen. Ludovico Muratori. 25 vols. Milano: Typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1723–51.
- Sathas, Documents Konstantinos N. Sathas, ed. *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyene âge*. 9 vols. Paris: Maisonneuve, 1880–90.

Secondary literature

- ASI *Archi Archivio storico italiano, edited by the Deputazione Toscana di storia patria*. 1842 sq. Online extension since 1998 at <www.storia.unifi.it/asidspt/ASI/Apertura.htm> 09. 04. 2013.
- ASPN *Archivio storico per le Province Napoletane*, edited by Società di storia patria, Naples. 3 series. Naples, 1876 sq.
- BF *Byzantinische Forschungen*. Amsterdam. 1966 sq.
- BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. München. 1892 sq.
- ÉA *L'État Angevin: pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle – Actes du colloque international organisé par l'American Academy in Rome, l'École française de Rome, Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, l' U. M.*

	<i>R. Telemine e l'Università de Province, l'Università degli studi di Napoli "Federico II" Rome, Naples, 7–11 novembre 1995. Paris: l'École française de Rome, 1998.</i>
Hopf, GG 1 ; 2	Karl Hopf, <i>Griechenland in Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit</i> , in <i>Griechenland: geographisch, geschichtlich und kulturhistorisch von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart</i> , ed. Herman Brockhaus, vol. 7. Parts 1–2 (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1870).
NSA	Gennaro M. Monti. <i>Nuovi studi angioini</i> . Trani: Vecchi, 1937.
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> . 3 vols. Oxford: OUP, 1991.
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> . Rome. 1935 sq.
PLP	Trapp, Erich, ed. <i>Prosopographisches Lexicon der Palaiologenzeit</i> . Vol. 12. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1994.
ZRVI	<i>Zbornik radova vizantološkog instituta</i> . Belgrade. 1952 sq.

Notes on general reference:

Following the regular principles of the *Chicago Manual of Style*, reference to the pages of the quoted works is provided by number alone. The first reference to more complex textual arrangements (esp. of primary sources) contains a broader description of the specific structure. Abbreviations such as “p.” or “pp.” precede page numbers only where their absence might cause confusion.

Notes on the quotation of personal names and toponyms:

Originating from various traditions of transcription and source reading (Latin, Greek, German, Italian, etc.), personal and geographic names in the Tocco context are quoted in the following manner:

Usually, Greek forms are transcribed to Latin according to the practice applied by the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, ed. Peter Soustal, vol. 3 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981).

Prominent personal names and toponyms, such as those of rulers, popes, or their residences, are quoted in their English forms (e.g. King Charles I of Anjou, Pope Innocent III, Emperor Henry VI, Despot Philip,

etc.). For cases where Latin and Greek have been equally used by the modern scholarship – e.g. Epirus and Epiros – Greek forms were used, with an indication to their Latin equivalents upon a first reference.

Regionally prominent personal names and toponyms are quoted according to the forms used in their primary context – thus, for instance, Nikephoros for the Greek Despot of the Angeloi Doukai Komnenoi family, but Niceforo for the two Despots of the Italian Orsini family.

In order to reflect the Tocco self-perception, the names and other terms specifically related to this family are quoted as they were mentioned in the key family's sources (e.g. Latinized *Guillelmo* rather than its Italian form *Guglielmo*). Depending on the context of each particular reference, such forms appear either in quotation marks or in italics.

Greetings. It is possible that some word of me may have come to you, though even this is doubtful, since an insignificant and obscure name will scarcely penetrate far in either time or space. If, however, you should have heard of me, you may desire to know what manner of man I was, or what was the outcome of my labours, especially those of which some description or, at any rate, the bare titles may have reached you.

Petrarch, "Letter to Posterity (c. 1372)," in *Petrarch: Letters*, trans. James Harvey Robinson and Henry Winchester Rolf (NY, Putnam's Sons, 1909), 59.

Introduction

“Thus the Latins were no different from our Skythians, [just] as [if] they did not rise above their madness by long distance. Not once were the miserable cruelly captured by one or other nation, but twice and three times and more often.” (οἱ δὲ Λατῖνοι οὐδὲν ἡμερώτερον τῶν Σκυθῶν διετέθησαν, ὅτι μὴ καὶ πολλῶ τῶ μέτρῳ τὴν Σκυθικὴν ἀπήνειαν ὑπερέβησαν, καὶ οὐχ ἅπαξ τοῖς ταλαιπώροις ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ τῆς δεινῆς ταύτης αἰχμαλωσίας ξυνεπεπτώκει παθεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δις καὶ τρις καὶ πολλάκις [...]). This is the image of the western Crusaders who conquered Constantinople in 1204, constructed by the fourteenth-century Byzantine intellectual Nicephore Gregoras. Highly distinctive and negative, this depiction shows the Greeks as ‘Us’ – civilised but subjected and suffering, in opposition to the westerners – ‘Franks,’ ‘Latins,’ ‘Them,’ the conquerors of rude behavior, equal to the ‘Scythians’ whose barbarian nature had already become a widely-established literary archetype in the Byzantine world.¹

Gregoras’ conflicting opposition between the Byzantines and their governors in Latin Greece is, of course, anachronistic and it does not reflect the realities of the Fourth Crusade, but rather the conflicts of his own time, the first half of the fourteenth century, when a new group of “Latin” lords replaced the Crusaders’ descendents in the Byzantine East. Unlike their predecessors whose power grafted upon military loyalty, feudal rights and possession of landed domains in the Greek mainland and islands, these Latins mostly originated from urban spaces of the Apennine peninsula where wealth and status were acquired through an elaborate web of private, political and commercial bonds. Well-connected through a variety of familial alliances and services, these new nobles quickly overtook the important Frankish power positions in Greece.²

Among the Latin groups that emerged in Greece around the mid-fourteenth century were the Tocco of Naples. Their first connection with this region dates back to the time when the family’s “ancestor,” *Guillelmo*

(d. 1335), served as an officer on Angevin Corfu. His junior son Leonardo was recorded as the first Tocco entitled Count of Kefalonia (Cephallenia, Cephallonia, Kefallinia, etc.), Zakynthos (Zante) and Ithaka, to later acquire the island of Leukas (Leucas, Lefkas, Leukada, Lefkada, etc.) and the Byzantine title of *dux* associated with this island. From there, Leonardo's son, Carlo I (d. 1429), expanded his power to Epiros (Epirus) and the Peloponnese. Following Carlo's death, the family slowly decayed and was ultimately forced to repatriate to Naples after the Ottomans conquered their domain in 1479.³

To the present-day academia, the key facts about the Tocco and their rule in Greece are fairly known. The family came into the scholarly focus very early, with the interest of Renaissance intellectuals Theodore Spandounes (Theodore Spandugnano), Geronimo Zurita (Çurita) and Juan de Mariana.⁴ In the seventeenth-century, the Tocco records stressed the family's social position and esteem by frequently referring to their medieval ancestors as the most powerful lords of the Latin East. Mostly imitating the previous humanistic and Renaissance works, these works highlighted the perceptions of their authors, whose techniques of exposition, selective choice of subjects or the so called *staccato* repetition of the family's most important moments all reflect a variety of situational needs that stood behind the authors' claimed intentions to "remember their ancestors."⁵ In the eighteenth century, the 'Greek' branch of the Tocco briefly appeared in several studies on Italy's antiquities and nobility. Elegant in form, but not greatly authentic, these works presented the medieval Tocco in Greece as absolute rulers of the Enlightenment era, thus additionally contributing to the family's already distorted image.⁶

A new round of narrative images associated with the family came with the nineteenth-century Romanticist historiography, that added national perspective to the image of the 'Greek' Tocco. Thus, the Italian historians of the *Risorgimento* era praised them as magnanimous and energetic "admirers of order and peace among the citizens," while their Greek colleagues perceived the family as foreigners of the 'Frankish' origin and Catholic religion. In these works, the Tocco were particularly despised for their occupation of the Greeks and their land, which explains why the family was largely left out from many Greek national histories written in this period.⁷

The first critical views of the family appeared around the end of the nineteenth century, with the works by Ioannes Romanos, Spiridon

Blantès, and William Miller who focused on the chronology related to the Tocco rule in Greece and the family's prosopography. To this material, the twentieth-century scholars added a variety of critical source publications which revealed an entirely new corpus of primary evidence. In 1975, Giuseppe Schirò published a narrative in verse, widely known as the *Chronicle of the Tocco of Kefalonia* (*Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia*). Together with the editions of the Venetian and Greek documentary material, this chronicle enabled modern scholarly focus on new questions, such as the power of the Tocco women or ethnic stereotypes through which the family was represented. Most recently, the intensified research of the Ottoman records is yielding various new details of the Tocco prosopography, especially their bonds from the first half of the fifteenth century.⁸

Yet, despite the attention the 'Greek' Tocco have already had in modern historiography, a full critical evaluation of this branch does not exist. Up to date, the scholarly interest has been usually shown to Carlo I as the family's most glorious representative, while other generations born in Greece have remained comparatively unexplored. Also, the scholars have mostly considered the political role of the Tocco in Greece, while little attention has been paid to the circumstances that conditioned their internal organization, power structures, wealth, and prestige. Above all, the 'Greek' Tocco have been largely evaluated through their relations with the Byzantine world, while various aspects of their links with other regional powers remained evaluated at a circumstantial degree. Aiming at covering these gaps, this monograph will focus on the evolution of the Tocco power in Greece. Conceived in this way, it will link the most important family's figures and events with the widest range of the socio-political circumstances and mechanisms that made them one of the most important ruling groups in late-medieval Latin Greece.

What were the reasons that prompted this junior branch of a South-Italian noble kindred migrate to a distant, foreign, and highly volatile region across the Adriatic sea? What strategies helped the Tocco establish themselves as one of the most powerful familial groups in Latin Greece? And, how did their migration from the Latin world to Byzantium affect the kinsmens' mutual relationships and their interactions with the local subjects and neighbors?⁹ In order to answer these questions, the monograph will follow various kinds of source information, pieces ranging from the family documents to the ambiguous narrative accounts and rare material remains on the Ionian Islands, the incomplete nature of which, as is usual with this kind of historical research, has always been imminent.

The documents issued by the family's chief Angevin and Aragon suzerains in Naples are few and fragmentary because the key materials that contained this reference were destroyed in a fire set by the Nazis to the Neapolitan *Archivio di Stato* in 1943. A few fragments of this corpus remained accessible through several publications edited in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At first sight rich in detailed evidence, these publications, however, can sometimes generate a major confusion because their references to authentic documents are not always complete or accurate. To a certain point, the gaps of this material can be covered by the documents of the Venetian *Archivio di Stato*, a large corpus of records produced by the Venetian officials who visited Latin Greece or served in the *Serenissima's* domains there. Yet, although largely minute, precise and rich in various details, these sources can be misleading too, for their accounts predominantly highlight the Venetian perceptions and may not necessarily reflect the Tocco perspectives.

Distorted source perspectives about the family also come out from narrative sources such as histories or chronicles, obviously due to a variety of forms of their narration or their authors' literary styles and intentions. The historiography work by Laonikos Chalkokondyles, for instance, mentions the rule of Carlo I Tocco, but it also projects an image of this lord and his family as foreigners; different is the narration of the Tocco chronicle which shows Carlo I as the most valid knight and a legitimate ruler of the Greek territories he "gloriously" acquired in Epiros.¹⁰

To some extent, the ambiguous and conflicting references of the narrative sources can be clarified with the documents of the family archive. This archive was arranged sometime around the Humanistic period, and was kept in family till 1949, when they donated it to the Neapolitan *Archivio di Stato*. The fact that the archive was kept in private during the World War II is a fortunate circumstance because its records remained unaffected by the 1943 conflagration of the State Archive. Through its sections entitled *Pergamena*, *Atti notarili*, and *Scritture diverse* this collection documents the history of the entire family, both of the Neapolitan and the 'Greek' branch, while the files kept in the *Fascicoli diversorum* section contain several hundreds of historical and genealogical notes – various perceptions of the Tocco importance collected by the family over the past five centuries.¹¹ Although highly selective, some fragments of this corpus can be critically analyzed when compared to the documentary pieces from several other important archival *patrimonia* such as the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, the Accaiuoli

Archive of the *Biblioteca Laurenziana* in Florence, and the Historical Archives of Ragusa (Dubrovnik, Croatia).¹²

In addition to the written materials, archaeological remains on the Ionian Islands and elsewhere in Greece could also contribute to a better understanding of the Tocco life and government there. Unfortunately, frequent earthquakes, Venetian and Ottoman policies of effacing the traces of their predecessors, and the remains' destruction by tourist antiquarians who frequented the area since the 15th century, all significantly affected the number of these pieces, so those that have been preserved until today need to be examined with an utmost critical attention.¹³

Perceived from the grounds of a traditional historiography that is primarily concerned with chronology and particularity, this new focus on the 'Greek' Tocco will yield additional details about the prominent family figures and their politics in Latin Greece. The inquiry's interdisciplinary framework, conceived as a comparative insight into the family's status and power, will, however, reveal a much wider set of relations, processes and circumstances that shaped the dynamics of the family's life in Latin Greece. I believe this nexus of historical, social and genealogical contexts will help us better understand the 'model of success' available for the junior nobility of the medieval Italian South – in the case of the Tocco, an extraordinary example of what the bonds of kinship meant and how they could prompt the advancement of an independent seigniorial power in a foreign environment distant from one's homeland.

¹ The introductory quotation as from Nicephoros Gregoras, *Byzantina Historia*, ed. Ludovic Schopen in *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (=CSHB), pars XIX, vol. 1 (Bonn: Weber, 1829), book II, chapter 2, pages 27–28. On the Fourth Crusade, see *Urbs capta: the Fourth Crusade and its consequences*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Paris: Lethilleux, 2005); Thomas F. Madden, *The Fourth Crusade: Event, Aftermath and Perceptions* (Aldershot: Ashgate and the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, 2008). On the relations between the local population and Latins in the region and the instances of their co-habitation and even integration, see Donald Nicol, "Symbiosis and Integration: Some Greco-Latin Families in 11th to 13th Centuries," *BF* 7 (1979): 113–35; Benjamin Arbel, Bernard Hamilton and David Jacoby, eds., *Latins and Greeks in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (London: Cass and The Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies and the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, 1989); Aneta Ilieva, *Frankish Morea (1205–1262): Socio-Cultural Interaction Between the Franks and the Local Population* (Athens: Basilopoulos, 1991); Theresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford: OUP, 2009). The term 'West' used henceforth will be used as

a technical term, namely to designate the medieval political entities of the Apennine peninsula or, in a more general sense, Catholic Europe of the Late Middle Ages.

² For a more specific literature on this topic, with a reference to the earlier historiography, see Angeliki E. Laiou, "Observations on the results of the Fourth Crusade: Greeks and Latins in ports and markets," *Medievalia et humanistica* 12 (1984): 43–56; Michel Balard, Angeliki E. Laiou, and Catherine Otten Froux, eds., *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1987); Peter Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean* (London: Longman, 1995); David Abulafia, "Gli Italiani fuori d'Italia," in *Gli orizzonti aperti: Profili del mercante medievale*, ed. Gabriella Airal di (Torino: Paravia, 1997), 175–98, especially 181–87; Walter Haberstumpf, "La dissoluzione delle signorie latine in Morea di fronte alla turcocrazia," *Studi Veneziani* 33 (1997): 61–83; Michel Balard, *Les Latins en Orient (XIe–XVe siècle)* (Paris: PUF, 2006).

³ As from Eugenio Bisogni, *Le imperiali famiglie dei Pierangeli Comneno e dei Tocco Paleologo Comneno*, ed. Giovanni Bisogni (Rome: Ferrari, 1949), 59, the last direct male descendant of the 'Greek' Tocco died at the beginning of the twentieth century, so their legacy was transferred through a female line to the Italian families Gorga and Soderini. Through this line remained Gabriele, the son of Prof. Vittorio Gorga-Soderini, married to countess Wladimira, the offspring of the Polish noble family de Porten. For heraldic and armoury signs used by the modern Tocco branches, see Vittorio Spredi, *Enciclopedia storico-nobiliare Italiana: famiglie nobili e titolate viventi*, vol. 6 (Bologna: Forni: 1928–35), 608–9.

⁴ For the common scholarly knowledge on this branch of the family, see summaries by Alice-Mary Talbot, "Tocco," ODB, vol. 3, 2090–1; PLP, vol. 12, 1–5. For the earlier scholarship on the family, see Theodore Spandugino, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani, ordine de la Corte, forma del guerreggiare loro, religione, rito, et costumi de la nation*, in *Documents inédits relatifs à l'histoire de la Grèce au Moyene Âge*, ed. Konstantinos N. Sathas (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1890), vol. 9, 138–261 (recently, Donald M. Nicol, *Theodore Spandoune: On the Origin of the Ottoman Empire* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997]); Geronimo Zurita, *Historia del Rey don Fernando el Católico* (Saragossa: Domingo de Portonariis, 1580), *ad ann.* 1500, fols. 199v–200r; *id.*, *Annales de la corona de Aragón*, vol. 4 (Saragossa: Simmon de Portonariis, 1582), 30; Juan de Mariana, *Historia General de España* (Toledo: n. p., 1616) (written 1592), volume 2, book 24, chapter 11, page 481; Stefano Magnò, "Estratti degli Annali veneti di Stefano Magnò," in *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues publiées avec notes et tables généalogiques*, ed. Karl Hopf (Berlin: Weidmann, 1873; reprint, Athens: n. p., 1961), 179–209; Marino Sanudo, *Le Vite dei dogi*, ed. Giosue Carducci, in *RIS, series nova*, vol. 22, part 4: 1 (Castello: Lapi, 1900–1); Scipione Mazzella, *Descrizione del Regno di Napoli ... con la nota de fuochi, delle impostoni ... e dell'entrate che n'hà il Rè...* (Naples: Capello, 1601; reprint, Bologna: Forni, 1970).

⁵ Enrico Bacco, *Nuova descrizione del Regno di Napoli* (Naples: Roncagliolo, 1629); Scipione Ammirato, *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*, 2 vols. (Bologna: Forni, 1973) (written in 1580); Summonte, *Raccolta di varie notizie storiche che non meno appartenenti all'istoria* (Naples: Almagiore, 1675); Charles Dufresne Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina duplici commentario illustrata* (Paris: Billaine, 1680), 246; Andrea Giuseppe Gittio, *Lo scetor del despota overo del titolo e dignità dispotale* (Naples: Raillard, 1697).

⁶ Giovanni Battista Pachichelli, *Il Regno di Napoli in prospettiva*, 3 vols. (Naples: n. p. 1703) (published *post mortem*, reprint edition, Bologna: Forni, 1975); Giuseppe Recco, *Notizie di*

famiglie nobili ed altri illustri della città e Regno di Napoli (Naples: Parino, 1717); Carolus Borelli, *Vindex Neapolitanae nobilitatis* (Naples: Longus, 1653); Julius Caesar Cappacius, *Urbis Neapolis a secretis et civis historiae Neapolitanae libri duo* (Naples: Gravier, 1771), as a subsequent part of the *Raccolta di tutti i più rinomati scrittori dell'istoria generale del Regno di Napoli*, vol. 17 (Naples: Gravier, 1770); Balthasar Maria Remondini, *Estratto, in Hopf, Chroniques*, 341–5.

⁷ For Italian accounts of the time, see Erasmo Ricca, *La nobiltà delle due Sicilie*, part 1, vol. 3 (Naples: Pascale, 1865), 267–336; Conte Bernardo Candida Gonzaga, *Memorie delle famiglie nobili delle provincie meridionali d'Italia* (Naples: de Angelis, 1875), 137–9. For Greek accounts of the time, see Nikolaos Gribas Karabia, 'Ιστορία τῆς νήσου Ἰθάκης ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαιοτατῶν χρονῶν μέχρι τοῦ 1849 (Athens: Καραμπίνη καὶ Βάερα, 1849); Panagiotēs Arabantinos, Χρονογραφία τῆς Ἠπείρου τῶν τε οὐμῶρων Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ἰλλυρικῶν χωρῶν, 2 vols. (Athens: Βλαστός 1856), 2 vols. (Athens: Βλαστός 1856); J. P. K. Loberdos, Ἱστορία τῆς νήσου Κεφαλληνίας, Greek translation from the Italian manuscript by P. K. Gratsiatos (Kefalonia: Προόδου, 1888). Cf. Dionysios Zakythenos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*, vol. 1 (Paris: Société d'édition "Les belles lettres," 1932), 199.

⁸ Karl Hopf, 'Ιστορική Πραγματεία, Greek translation by Ioannes Romanos in Ioannes Romanos, Γρατιανὸς Ζώρξης, Αὐθέντης Λευκάδος, (Corfu: Ἰονία, 1870); Marino Nicolo Pignatore, *Memorie storiche e critiche dell' isola di Cefalonia dia tempi eroici alla caduta della Repubblica Venezia*, vol. 1 (Corfu: Nacamulli, 1887); Ioannes Romanos, Περὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου (Kerkyra: ΕΡΜΗΣ, 1895); Spiridon A. Blantès, Ἡ Λευκὰς ὑπὸ τοῦς Φραγκοῦς, τοῦς Τουρκοῦς καὶ τοῦς Ἑνετοῦς (1204–1797) (Leukas: Τυπογραφεῖον ἀδελφῶν Α. Τσιριμπάση, 1902); William Miller, *The Latins in the Levant: A History of Frankish Greece (1204–1566)* (New York–Cambridge: Barnes and Noble, 1964, reprint of the 1908 edition). For a recent concise overview of the literature on this period see, Lock, *The Franks in the Aegean*, 28–34. The most important sources for the research on the family have been listed by Walter Haberstumpf, "Dinasti italiani in Levante: I Tocco duchi di Leucade: regesti (secoli XIV–XVIII)," *Studi Veneziani* 45 (2003): 165–211. For the twentieth-century literature on particular Tocco issues, see Julian Chrysostomides, "Italian Women in Greece in the Late Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Century," *Rivista di studi Bizantini e Slavi* 2 (1982): 119–32; Aneta Ilieva, "The Image of Morea (Frankish and Byzantine) in the Mentality of a Gianniniotes: the author of the Tocco chronicle," in Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ἠπείρου (Arta, May 27–31, 1990) (Arta: Σκουφάς, 1992), 309–12; Maria Preka, "Ἡ ἐθνικότητα στο χρονικό των Τόκκο," in Πρακτικά Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για το Δεσποτάτο της Ἠπείρου, 303–8; Thekla Sansaridou Hendrickx, "The World view of the Chronicle of the Tocco," *Byzantiaka* 21 (2001): 193–243; *eadem*, "The World View of the Anonymous Chronicle of Tocco (14th–15th Cent.): Women and Gender Relations," *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 84: 1 (2002): 224–49; Elizabeth Zachariadou, "Les Tocco: Seigneurs, Vassaux, Otages, Renegats," *Gamer* 1: 1 (2012), 11–22. An extensive study on the development of the Tocco prior to the formation of their branch in Greece can be found in Michèle Benaiteau, *Vassalli e cittadini: la signoria rurale nel Regno di Napoli attraverso lo studio dei feudi dei Tocco di Montemilieto (XI–XVIII secolo)* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1997).

⁹ For the political and chronological perspectives of the research of this family, see Michèle Benaiteau, "Una famiglia nobile di origine beneventana nella 'Romania' medievale,"

Samnium 61 (1988): 1–13 and Spyros Asonites, Το Νότιο Ιόνιο κατά τον Όψιμο Μεσαίωνα (Athens: ERGO, 2005). Benjamin Handrickx–Thekla Sansaridou Handrickx, “The ‘Despotate’ of the Tocco as State (14–15 c.),” *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 19 (2008): 135–152. For a general introduction into the medieval frontiers, see David Abulafia and Nora Berend, eds., *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002).

¹⁰ For some examples of problematic quotations in the sources see Ricca, *La nobiltà*, vol. 3, *passim*; *Acta et diplomata res Albaniae mediae aetatis illustrantia*, eds. Ludwig Tháloczy, Konstantin Jireček, and Milan von Šufflay, 2 vols. (Vienna: Holzhausen, 1913–15) (=AA). For Chalkokondyles’ view of the Tocco, see Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *Historiarum libri X*, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn: Weber, 1843) (= Chalkokondyles, ed. Bonn), book 4, ed. Bonn, page 211; *id.*, *Historiarum demonstrationes I–II*, ed. Eugen Darkó, (Budapest: Academia litterarum Hungarica, 1922–3) (=Chalkokondyles, ed. Darkó), vol. 1, page 198.

¹¹ *Archivio Privato di Tocco di Montemilieto: inventario*, ed. Antonio Allocati (Rome: Ministero dei beni e l’attività culturali, 1978), 11–16, on the history and structure of the Tocco archive. Some of the medieval documents seem to have reached the current family archive as a part of a private collection the Tocco had with them in Greece, probably transferred to Italy among their other possessions as mentioned by Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra (*Volaterra*), “Il Diario Romano,” ed. E. Carusi, in *RIS* vol. 23: 3a (Castello: Lapi, 1904), page 12 (*ad ann.* 1480).

¹² ASV, particularly the fonds *Armadi*, *Registra Vaticana* and *Registra Lateranensia*; *Carteggio Acciuoli*, of the *Bibliotheca Medicea Laurenziana* in Florence, partly published by Buchon (*Nouvelles recherches*), Hiotes, and Rao (for detailed references on these works, see the Selected Bibliography). From the Ragusan archive I consulted the micro-filmed fonds kept in the Archive of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Belgrade: *Reformationes*, *Consilium Rogatorum*, *Consilium Maius*, *Consilium Minus*, *Diversa cancellariae*, *Diversa notariae*, *Lettere Levantine*. Some Ragusan material, such as the documents of the *busta XVI* of the *Diversa Cancellariae*, was provided to me by the kind help of Prof. Zdenka Janeković-Römer (Historical Institute Dubrovnik – University of Zagreb) and Dr. Ana Marinković (University of Zagreb).

¹³ For a comparative lack of the Tocco building activities, see Donald M. G. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 195. Cf. S. Dakares, “Τὸ κάστρο τῶν Ρωγῶν,” *Δωδώνη* 6 (1977): 229.

Chapter I
FROM NAPLES
TO THE HEPTANESE
(until c. 1375)

The Realm

Inevitably, any survey of the conditions that prompted the evolution of the Tocco and their migration from the southern Italian province to the Ionian islands and western Greece has to begin with the term 'realm.' In its spatial context, this term covers the important points of the family's development during the High Middle Ages: Benevento, where the Tocco apparently emerged during the Norman era (11th century); the provinces and districts of Capua, Ottaiano, and Terra di Lavoro where the kinsmen enjoyed various feudal possessions since the rule of the German Hohenstaufen (1194–1266); Angevin Naples from where the junior branch of the family set off to Greece in the first half of the fourteenth century and to which Aragon setting their offspring returned a century later; ultimately, the zone of the Angevin interest in western Greece where five generations of the family lived and ruled.

However, the spatial implication of this term is not the only link of the 'realm' associated with the Tocco family. To it, the politics of the Middle Ages added another, more remarkable meaning related to the political unification of the region under the Normans in the early twelfth century. As it is widely known, this unification came after several centuries of the political confusion initiated by the dissolution of the Roman Empire and the establishment of various Germanic entities in the peninsula. Between the sixth and the eighth centuries, the southern part of the Apennine peninsula was highly fragmented: Benevento and Capua developed into duchies administered first by the Goths, then by the Lombards; Calabria and Bari still constituted the part of the Byzantine Empire, and the Duchy of Naples inclined to it as well; Sicily, first ruled by the Tunisian Aghlabids, then by the Egyptian dynasties of the Fatimids and Kalbids, was firmly in Muslim hands.¹⁴

The unification of the peninsula's South took place under Roger II (r. 1130–d. 1154). His monarchy there was sustained by an elaborate

administration that grafted upon a network of posts established both at the royal court and in the provinces (e.g. *justitiales* or *baillies*). Some of these positions were accessible to the local individuals, whose status consequently rose above the positions of other members of their communities. In many cases, the locals' participation in the royal government was additionally reinforced by feudal service, which rewarded them with landed possessions and other forms of wealth they could accumulate individually and separately from their kindreds.

The tendency to involve the locals in the royal administration continued with the German Hohenstaufen who took over the Kingdom after the death of Tancred (1194). Yet a massive political turmoil into which the region soon plunged made this process largely unstable. In 1197, the throne came to Frederick II (b. 1194–d. 1250), born from Henry VI (German King 1169–1197; Holy Roman Emperor 1191–1197, King of Sicily 1194–1197) and Constance, the posthumous daughter of King Roger II. Crowned in 1220 by Pope Honorius III (1216–1227) as the Holy Roman Emperor, the young ruler, however, was not willing to share his power with the Roman pontif, and soon he openly conflicted with the pontificate. The conflict was certainly not the first between the German monarchs and the Popes in their mutual contest over the imperial legate of Charlemagne (768–814, Emperor since 800). Yet, this time its impact was of such a scale that it divided the population of the entire Apennine peninsula into two rival factions – the Guelphs who favored the pontifical side and were largely gathered from the local landed seigneurial nobility, and the Ghibellines, who preferred the German imperial party, manufacturing and trade. For the next two centuries, this division widely influenced all major political relationships in the Apennines, and defined the peninsula's social relationships even in the situations that had little in common with the original conflict.¹⁵

The pontifical propaganda inflated the confrontation between Frederick II and the Roman pontif representing it as a 'clash of civilizations,' even though there was little direct conflict in the battlefield. This was a fortunate circumstance for both sides, yet, it did not reflect well upon Frederick's Realm. To keep his army vigilant and prepared, he had to maintain heavy taxations. In doing so, both he and his successors Conrad (1250–1254) and Manfred (1258–1266) favored certain local groups, which attitude, consequently, facilitated a variety of internal oppositions. These ultimately resulted in a profound discontent within the local society: the seigneurial nobility felt unequal to the privileged court officers;

the towns of Calabria, having already been limited in their ancient autonomies, now questioned the privileges of the royal capital in Palermo; the local Romans/Byzantines challenged the officers of 'German-Langobard' origin. Some unsatisfied groups joined the Guelph coalition organized against the Hohenstaufen by Pope Clement IV (1265–1268) and his favorite, Charles of Anjou (Count of Anjou and Provence, the younger brother of French king Louis IX the Saint [1226–1270]), thus contributing to the defeat of Frederick's son Manfred at Benevento (February 1266), and the end of the Hohenstaufen rule in southern Italy.¹⁶

Having restored the pontificate's power over the Kingdom's spiritual affairs, proclaimed as King Charles I, the Angevin monarch nominally embraced the tradition and institutions of his predecessors. Yet this did not prevent him from openly working against the Hohenstaufen legacy. He first sent their most ardent supporters to exile and had their domains confiscated. Then, he subjected the Hohenstaufen courtly administration to the royal council that was composed from his own loyal companions in arms (*consiliarii, fideles*), people of predominantly French and Provençal origin. Finally, the Angevin ruler limited the courtly administration of his predecessors by restoring some pre-Hohenstaufen institutions such as the Byzantine *protonotariate*. At the same time, the new sovereign failed to pay any significant attention to the seigneurial nobility who had actively helped him against the Hohenstaufen. Instead and contrary to the initial expectations of the local lords, the King directed his favor towards the representatives of the mid-urban commoners, professionals such as doctors of arts, physicians and notaries. Many local nobles felt underestimated with these measures, so, by the beginning of the rule of King Charles II (r. 1285–1309), some of them attempted to improve their status by joining the royal servicemen in arms (*milites*), or the religious orders of St. Francis, St. Dominic and St. Augustine whom the newly established dynasty specially favored.¹⁷ Some unsatisfied locals openly sided with the Ghibelline party that revived on Sicily in support of Conrad's son Conradino (defeated by the Angevins in 1268), and, later, his son-in-law, Spaniard Peter III of Aragon (King of Sicily 1282–1285). This party was involved in a mass-scale revolt that broke out against the Angevins in Palermo on March 1282 (Vespers of the Easter Monday), and prompted the complete retreat of the Angevin army from the island by September 1282.¹⁸

Since the Kingdom's beginnings, Sicily had always been the region's most significant grain supplier. With the key royal residence centered in

Palermo under the Normans and the Hohenstaufen, the island also represented the symbolic center of the entire Realm. The retreat from there in 1282, therefore, meant a grave setback for the new ruling dynasty and their legacy. Attempting to legitimize their power in the remaining ('amputated') part of the Kingdom, Charles I and his son and heir, Charles II, turned their attention to Naples. There, they specifically focused on a new political and administrative center which they started to develop in the New Castle (*Castelo Nuovo, Maschio Angioino*) erected by the sea, just outside the walls of medieval Naples. The New Castle was reinforced by two additional nearby courtly points assigned to the junior princely Angevin branches of Taranto and Gravena. From this center, the first Angevin rulers focused on a new port where they planned extensive international trade. These developments affected the old part of the city too, where new churches and wealthier houses started to reflect the structures and images of the Angevin ancestral domains in France and Provence. The Angevin establishment in Naples influenced some residential habits of the city's population too. Before their establishment, the city had been divided into several *seggi*, residential quarters originally recognized mostly through their territorial boundaries and, occasionally, some local political or fiscal activities. Under the Angevins, all the Neapolitan *seggi* quickly became important places of social distinction. Among the six quarters mentioned during Charles I, the most prestigious was the one around the Capuan Gate (*Seggio della Porta Capuana*), where the majority of inhabitants were knighted aristocrats well-connected with the Angevin court.¹⁹

Around the end of his reign, Charles I ruled a significant portion of medieval Europe. His domination involved the entire southern section of the Apennine mainland, his private domains in Provence, and a vast zone of Angevin interests in Sicily, Northern Apennines, Hungary and Tunisia. To this, in the 1270s, the King accounted the lands across the Adriatic sea that today belong to modern Albania and south-western Greek regions of Epiros, as well as the Heptanese and the western part of the Peloponnese peninsula.²⁰ These territories were to be an important starting position for an offensive Charles I planned against Byzantium. In part, his claims to the Empire originated from the aspirations of the Realm's Norman rulers, namely Robert Guiscard (b. 1015–1085) and Bohemond of Taranto (b. c. 1058–1111), who both waged campaigns to conquer the Byzantines. King Charles could also claim the imperial throne through the legacy of Manfred of Hohenstaufen and his marriage with Helen Angelina

Doukaina, the daughter of Greek Despot in Epiros, Michael II Komnenos Doukas (1230–1266/68). Had Charles ruled only a few decades earlier, his plans would have probably been easily accomplished due to Byzantium's partition by the knights of the Fourth Crusade (1204) and the split of its legacy between the Despotate in Epiros and the Empire in Nicea. To conquer Byzantium in the early 1280s, however, was something different. By that time, the Byzantine imperial power in Constantinople had already been restored (1261) and the new Emperor, Michael VIII Palaiologos (1261–1282), worked on strengthening his influence over the 'Latin' domains in Greece, as well as over his Greek rivals in Epiros, Despots of the Angeloi Komnenoi Doukai family. As a matter of fact, Byzantium's revival under the first Palaiologoi ruler was so strong that, at the beginning of the 1280s, when Charles I was planning to conquer Byzantium, Emperor Michael VIII actively interfered with Charles' affairs in the Apennines.²¹

To accomplish his goal in this situation, Charles needed strong alliances. For this reason, in 1267 at Viterbo, he made an arrangement with the Frankish lord of the Peloponnese, William II of Villehardouin, and dethroned Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II (r. 1228–1261). The two lords accepted Charles as their nominal suzerain in Greece, so their lands and other assets there, including Baldwin's imperial title, were also subject to the supreme authority of the Angevins in Naples. Charles' younger son, Prince Philip, was designated as the main Villehardouin heir, so when he prematurely died not long after the treaty's conclusion, King Charles himself became the nominal lord of all Villehardouin possessions in Greece. Around the same period (1279), Charles obtained loyalty also from Despot Nikephoros I Komnenos Doukas in Epiros, reinforcing this settlement with a marriage between Charles' grandson Philip and Nikephoros' daughter Thamar – the bond that gave him the final justification for the installation of his troops on the island of Corfu (Kerkyra, Corcyra).

The king attempted to infiltrate to the Byzantine East equally through one other direction, the region of modern Albania. There, a group of local chieftains independently controlled a coastal strip of land between the cities of Durazzo and Valona, as well as the inlands between the rivers of Mati and Shkumbi. On February 21, 1272, the chieftains officially swore loyalty to the Angevins of Naples in return for the King's protection against the revived Palaiologoi aspirations. Charles I was elected 'King of Albania' – a new entity created to represent the Angevin presence in the Balkans, but truly ruled only by its local elite.²²

Charles I may have entered the Balkans as the supreme ruler of the region's maritime sections, yet he never directly exercised his power there. Instead, the royal power was represented by his governors, figures such as Galeran d'Ivry, *Filippo de Lagonessa*, and Guy de la Tremouille. These people were powerful and rich, but of modest political competences, so, in consequence, their administrations provoked a variety of autonomous unsatisfied locals. These circumstances prompted the restoration of the Byzantine power in Epiros under Emperor Andronikos II (1282–1328), and the Serbian expansion in 1286 under King Milutin (1282–1321). By the end of King Charles' rule, the Angevin power in the Latin East had already collapsed and his son and successor, King Charles II, had to look for new forces that would efficiently repair this damage.

¹⁴ Donald Matthew, *The Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 11. On the history of this region during the early and high Middle Ages, see: André Guillou, *Studies on Byzantine Italy* (London: Ashgate Variorum, 1970); *id.*, *Culture et société en Italie Byzantine (VIe–XIe s.)* (London: Ashgate Variorum, 1978); David Abulafia, *Frederick II: A Medieval Emperor* (London: Pimlico 1988); Chris Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy: Central Power and Local Society 400–1000* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989); Barbara M. Kreutz, *Before the Normans: Southern Italy in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991); Hiroshi Takayama, *The Administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily* (Leiden–New York–London: Brill, 1993); Chris Wickham, *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400–1200* (London: British School at Rome, 1994), 229–312; Michael McCormick, "The Imperial Edge: Italo-Byzantine identity movement and integration AD 650–950," in Helen Ahrweiler–Angeliki E. Laiou, *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (Washington: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 17–52; Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in the Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998); G. A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: South Italy and the Norman Conquest (11th–13th centuries)* (London: Longman, 2000); Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Diwan* (Cambridge University Press: 2002).

¹⁵ For scholarly evaluations of Frederick's rule see Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, Engl. transl. E. O. Lorimer (New York: Ungar, 1967); Abulafia, *Frederick II*, *passim*. Giovanni Tabacco, *The Struggle for Power in Medieval Italy: Structures of Political Rule*, Engl. transl. Rosalind Brown Jensen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 256–66.

¹⁶ Émile Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1954), 29–35; Benedetto Croce, *History of the Kingdom of Naples*, Introd. Stuart Hughes, Engl. transl. Frances Frenaye (Chicago – London: CUP, 1975; Based upon the 6th Italian edition, Bari: Laterza, 1925), 81; 86; Kantorowitz, *Frederick II*, 271–81; Abulafia, *Frederick II*, 313; 377–80; Dunbabin, *Charles I*, 55–6; Norman J. Housley, *The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin*

Alliance and the Crusades Against Christian Lay Powers, 1254–1343 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

¹⁷ For some specific social aspects of the Angevin establishment in southern Italy, see Sylvie Polastri, “La noblesse provençale dans le royaume de Sicilie (1265–1282),” *Annales du Midi* 100 (1988): 405–18; Dunbabin, *Charles I*, 55–73; 188–9; Serena Morelli, “I giustizieri nel regno di Napoli al tempo di Carlo I d’Angio: primi risultati di un’indagine prosopografica,” *ĒA*, 491–515; *eadem*, “La storiografia sul regno angioino di Napoli: una nuova stagione di studi,” *Studi storici* 41 (2000): 1023–45; Giuseppe Galasso, “Da Palermo a Napoli,” in *Le eredità normanno-sveve nell’età angioina: persistenze e mutamenti nel Mezzogiorno*, *Atti delle 15e giornate normannosveve* (Bari 22–25 ottobre 2002), ed. Giosuè Musca (Bari: Università di Bari, Centro di studi normanno-svevi, 2004), 17–18; Andreas Kiesewetter, “Il governo e l’amministrazione centrale del Regno,” in *Le eredità normanno-sveve nell’età angioina*, 25–68; Jean-Marie Martin, “L’ancienne et la nouvelle aristocratie féodale,” in *Le eredità normanno-sveve nell’età angioina*, 102–119; Sylvie Pollastri, “Le Liber donationum’ et la conquête angevine du royaume de Sicilie (1268–1281),” *Mélanges de l’école française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 116: 2 (2004): 657–727. The origins of the *milites* seem to go back to the period of the Lombard domination over the southern Italy. By the Norman rule, this group appears to have already been urbanized. For a general background on the evolution of the *milites* in a wider European context, Susan Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals: The Medieval Evidence Reinterpreted* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 44–5.

¹⁸ For the events on Sicily in 1282, see Deno John Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Paleologus and the West 1258–1282: A Study in Byzantine-Latin Relationships* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), 364–7; Michele Amari, *La guerra del Vespro Siciliano*, ed. Francesco Giunta, 3 vols. (Palermo: Flaccovio, 1969); Sir Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: a history of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: CUP, 1992, first published in 1958). For Naples’ development in the time of Kings Charles I and Charles II, see Giuseppe Galasso, “La scelta di Napoli come capitale,” in Piero Maria Lugli, *Storia e cultura della città italiana* (Bari: Laterza, 1967), especially pp. 342–57; Alfonso Leone–Filena Patroni Griffi, *Le origini di Napoli capitale* (Altavilla Silentina: Edizioni studi storici meridionali, 1984); Maria Ginatempo–Lucia Sandri, *L’Italia delle città: il popolamento urbano tra Medioevo e Rinascimento* (secoli XIII–XVI) (Firenze: Le lettere, 1990), 168–9; Teresa Colletta, *Napoli: città portuale e mercantile: la città bassa, il porto ed il mercato dall’VIII al XVII secolo*, (Roma: Kappa Edizioni, 2006), 43–138.

¹⁹ The term ‘amputated’ as from Croce, *The History*, 43. On various Angevin attempts to restore on Sicily – five were done by King Robert only (1309–1343) – see Gennaro M. Monti, “Ancora su Roberto di Angiò e la crisi del Regno di Sicilia,” in NSA (Trani: Vecchi, 1936), 113–25. On Angevin courts in Naples, see Giuseppe De Blasiis, “Le case dei principi angioini nella piazza di Castelnuovo,” *ASPN* 11: 3 (1886): 473–6; Riccardo Filangieri, *Castel Nuovo, reggia angioina ed aragonese di Napoli* (Napoli: EPSA, 1934; second edition 1964); Jordan Lancaster, *In the Shadow of Vesuvius: A Cultural History of Naples* (London: Tauris, 2005), 57–124; *The Cronaca di Partenope: An introduction to and Critical Edition of the First Vernacular History of Naples*, ed. Samantha Kelly (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2011), 43–44. For other major Angevin constructions in Naples of the time, see Summonte, 276–7; 307–8; B. Cantera, *L’Edificazione del Duomo di Napoli al tempo degli Angioini* (Valle di Pompei: Longo, 1890); Francesco Sabatini, *Napoli Angioina* (Napoli: Edizioni scientifiche,

1975), 17. By the 1330s, the *Porta Capuana* quarter counted about 47 noble families, according to Genaro M. Monti, "Il patto dotale napoletano di Capuana e Nido," in *id.*, *Dal Duecento al Settecento* (Napoli, 1925), 1–39. More on the quarter's aristocracy, Moscati, "Richerche e documenti sulla feodalità regnicola napoletana nel periodo angioino," *ASPN* 20 (1934): 224–56 and *ASPN* 22 (1936): 1–14; Galasso, "La scelta," 354; Giuliana Vitale, "La nobiltà di seggio a Napoli nel basso medioevo," *ASPN* 106 (1989): 1–19; *eadem*, "Nobiltà napoletana della prima età angioina, elite, burocrazia e famiglia," in *ÉA*, 535–576. Paolo Cammarosano, "Élites sociales et institutions politiques des villes libres en Italie de la fin du XIIe au début du XIVe siècle," in *Congrès de la Société des Historiens Médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur Public, Rome mai 1996 É* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1997), 193–201.

²⁰ Gennaro M. Monti, "I domini angioini oltre l'Italia e il Levante Mediterraneo," in *NSA*, 129–161; Léonard, *Les Angevins*, 103; Dunbabin, *Charles I*, 25–125.

²¹ Miller, *The Latins*, 120–161; Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael*, 189–228; Lock, *The Franks*, 90–2. Günter Prinzing, "Epiros 1204–1261: Historical Outline – Sources – Prosopography," in Judith Herrin, G. Saint-Guillain, eds., *Identities and Allegiances in the Eastern Mediterranean after 1204* (Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), 8–99.

²² Jean Longnon, "Le rattachement de la principauté de Morée au royaume de Sicile en 1267," *Journal des savants* (1922): 134–43. Gennaro M. Monti, "Richerche sul dominio Angioino in Albania," in *NSA*, 169–96; Jean Longnon, *Empire Latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris: Payot, 1949), 242–243; Alain Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Âge: Durazzo e Valona du XI^e au XV^e siècle* (Thessaloniki: Institute for Balkan Studies, 1981), 230–75; David Abulafia, "The Aragonese Kingdom of Albania: an Angevin Project 1311–1316," in *id.* *Mediterranean Encounters, Economics, Religious, Political 1100–1550* (London, Ashgate Variorum, 2000), no. XVII.

On the 'beginnings'

"This island [of Zakynthos] belonged to don Leonardo, Despot of Arta... [he was of] the most antique ancestors, of the illustrious house of the Princes who were the Despots of Arta. As they had many relatives among the Emperors in Constantinople, he was a very great lord of the Greek Empire."²³

This is how the Renaissance and post-Renaissance historiography associated the noble rank of Leonardo III Tocco (r. 1449–1479) with a most distinguished ancestry. To some genealogists of the time, this line of the Tocco imperial ancestors must have started in the 'heroic' era of the Gothic or Langobard leaders of the Great Migration. In the Tocco family name they found an 'obvious' reference to Totila (*Toctila*–*Tocti*=*Gothi*–Tocco), the leader of the Goths who devastated the southern parts of the Apennines in the sixth century, or even Theodoric the Great (471–526, ruling in the Apennines from 493), his predecessor who had led the Goths from Pannonia to Italy. From these presumptions, then, came an idea about the family's German identity, further justified through the names of the kinsmen's mythical predecessors, such as *Ugolino*, *Guillelmo*, *Arrigo*, *Riccardo*, *Landulfo*, *Roberto*. Neatly lined in an uninterrupted ideal patrilineal descending order, these figures were then connected with the high Norman or Hohenstaufen offices of the Kingdom in Southern Italy between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries.²⁴

Other early-modern historians preferred to shape the family's ruling image by stressing the imperial background of their titles of Despot and Prince of Achaea. In doing so, they usually alleged the origin of these titles through the Tocco lineage with imperial families of the Komnenoi and Palaiologioi as well as with some figures of a more distant past, such as King Pyrrhus.

These constructions of the Tocco legendary ancestry can be understood in many different ways. On one hand, they might have been a

reflection of the nobility as seen by the early-modern family historians. Equally, they might have reflected the claims to the kindred's authority laid by the 'Greek' branch in the seventeenth century. Likewise, the 'German' ancestry of the Tocco might have been an echo of the offices some kinsmen held under the Hohenstaufen, or a reflection of a service several sixteenth-century Tocco rendered to the Habsburg Emperors – or, equally, they could also indicate general Renaissance literary trends that linked the nobility of the time with the heroes of the Antiquity.²⁵

Far from myths and legends, modern research suggests that the origins of the Tocco noble status should be, first and foremost, sought in two chief methods of advancement common throughout the medieval Europe during the great social changes of the 11th–12th centuries – landed property and loyalty of service. The kindred's alleged ancestral residence was the *castellum di Tocco*, located on a hill of the Monte Taburno, in the region of Benevento (today, the region of Campania, Italy). Nowadays, just a ruin on the location named Tocco Vecchio in the Tocco Caudio village, and largely deserted since the earthquake of 1980, the castle was mentioned as fortified in the twelfth-century. Before the Angevin establishment in Naples (1266), the castle was documented as the center of the Tocco authority and power that controlled landed plots throughout the Beneventan valley; some of these units were distributed among the kinsmen and their dependants on the hereditary basis. As from the records of the dead kept in the church of *St. Lupo* (Benedictine monastery SS. Lupo e Zosimo) near Benevento, a few Tocco were buried in the privileged space of the church, which suggests that the kindred underwent certain differentiation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁶

The twelfth-century annotations of the dead in the *St. Lupo* church further reveal that one of the privileged Tocco buried there, a *Guillelmo*, held a position of *iudex* in the early Hohenstaufen administration. What enabled *Guillelmo* hold this function and how his office was related to the social status of other Tocco kinsmen cannot be answered with precision, since no reliable evidence exists to illustrate *in continuo* the Tocco evolution in this period, but it seems highly probable that *Guillelmo* was one of those local nobles whose status was reinforced by his position in the royal administration. Some other kinsmen may have advanced through different ways. The evidence about a *Landulfo di Tocco*, who had some domains (*Limata* and *Cerreto*) confirmed in May 1250 through the loyalty of his homage to the Hohenstaufen, suggests these ways could have comprised not just inheritance or courtly office, but feudal service as well.²⁷

What happened with the Tocco after the defeat of the Hohenstaufen by the Guelph coalition? Given the positions some of them had held in the Hohenstaufen administration, one might conclude that the kindred felt a setback after the Angevins took over the Italian South. This conclusion also seems supported by documentary evidence which reveals that during the 1280s, the Tocco castle in the valley of Benevento, and some kinsmen too, were subjected to the authority of Robert of Lavena, a French knight from King Charles' entourage. Still, this setback did not necessarily have to affect all the kinsmen, and their thirteenth-century genealogical map shows that, at the beginning of the Angevin era, the kindred was fragmented and divided into small nuclear groups of closest relatives (parents–children, in rare cases including grandparents), with the kinsmen's self-identifications that did not reflect any coherent ancestral memory. Some Tocco from this period were recorded in places other than the valley of Benevento; some had already resided in the urban centers of the Italian South, where they took part in trade, money exchange, or medical practice. Several Tocco even managed to enter the close entourage of the Angevin kings, and one among them, a *magister Johannes de Tocco, medicinalis sciencie doctor*, served as a personal physician (*fisicus*) to King Charles I and his heir. One other, a *nobilis Henricus de Tocco* was documented as the secretary of the Neapolitan convent of *S. Maria di Capella*, while a Dominican prior *Guillelmus* – later the inquisitor general of Sicily, and a disciple of St. Thomas Aquinas – enjoyed an exceptionally rare degree of confidence by King Charles II as his confessor.²⁸

Around the year 1300, King Charles II opened his court in Naples to the local nobility, allowing them the access to the royal *familia*, until then attended mainly by the French and Provençal Angevin elite. The new royal *familiares* were assigned with various tasks in the King's household and rendered military service to the monarch and his closest relatives. Some of the local nobles received to the royal *familia* also held the title of a knighted soldier (*miles*). Originally associated with Lombard military groups in southern Italy (8th–11th c.), during the first Angevins this title ranked immediately below the king and the princes. No doubt, many Neapolitan nobles aspired to enter this circle – among them, a few Tocco youngsters were recorded too.²⁹

One of the most apparent signs of the prestige associated with the *milites* of the Angevin Kingdom were their residences in the Neapolitan quarter of the Capuana gate. There, its early-fourteenth century inhabitants claimed a special noble rank, alleging direct blood connections with

the residents of the ancient Greco-Roman city of Neapolis. The exquisite nature of this quarter was additionally strengthened by the fact that in the Hohenstaufen times it hosted the major instance of the city's secular power, the *Capuana* court.³⁰

Various documents mention several Tocco *milites* who had their residences in the *Capuana* quarter. During the fourteenth century, some of these residences were recorded as palaces (*case impallazate*), and were located in the quarter's central section, around the church of St. *Catherina a Formiello*. The family memoirs from some later epochs recognize the importance of the *Capuana* quarter for the family, as it obviously enabled some kinsmen take on the mantle of the 'olden' aristocracy.³¹ One of these was a *Guillelmo*, nowadays commonly considered the founding ancestor of the 'Greek' branch. In the 1320s, *Guillelmo* was closely connected to the Neapolitan court, more precisely, to Philip of Anjou, the younger son of King Charles II, entitled Prince of Taranto (1294–1331), Despot of Romania (1294–1315), Prince of Achaëa (1307–1313), and Latin Emperor of Constantinople (1313–1331). Several documents issued between 1320s and 1340s (these being the confirmations of the documents issued during the 1320s) designated *Guillelmo* as the Prince's *miles et familiaris*, or as his *consiliarius, familiaris et Deuotus*, thus indicating that the basis of this bond was *Guillelmo*'s service in the Prince's entourage – judging from the expression “obsequietatis meritis [...] gratitudine,” one would say an exceptional one. For his loyalty and good service, *Guillelmo* was awarded with feudal possessions on several occasions. On August 10, 1322, for instance, he received “in perpetuo [...] pro se et heredibus ac successoribus dictis eius perpetuo [...]” sixty *modia* of land in the region of *Ottaviano* (*Ottayani*), while on October 7, 1329, this Tocco *miles* was further rewarded with some more *in feudo* land situated in *Terra a Pomigliano d'Arco*.³²

In the early-modern era, genealogists usually assumed that a royal *familiaris* was a person affiliated with the royal family exclusively through a conjugal alliance. Consequently, to them, *Guillelmo*'s advancement must have been the result of a more private bond, a supposed marriage with an anonymous illegitimate daughter of his suzerain. Direct evidence to support these assumptions does not exist, and it is hard to understand how an Angevin-born lady, even an illegitimate one, could marry a newly risen local aristocrat like *Guillelmo*. Besides, had there ever been any relationship of this kind, it would have surely been hinted by some popular voice, as was, for instance, the alleged affair between Giovanni Boccaccio and Maria d'Acquino, presumably the natural daughter of King Robert.

Moreover, Guillelmo's reported marriage connection with an Angevin royalty might have easily been confused by some later sources with the marriage of one of his descendants, Leonardo III Tocco of the second half of the fifteenth century, who indeed married a relative of his suzerain in Naples, but of a different dynasty (Francesca Marzano, who was a relative of Aragon King Ferrante). After all, the story of Guillelmo's marriage attachment to the Angevin rulers of Naples might have easily been just an invention of some later family genealogists. This presumption comes out from a hint by Giovanni Musachi, an Albanian refugee from the Ottomans during the late 1470s, who, in his *Brief History of the House Musachi*, boasted a distant ancestor (an Andreas Thopia), who reportedly married an anonymous illegitimate daughter of the Angevin King in Naples. The Musachi considered themselves related in blood with the Tocco, so Giovanni's son Constantine shared this allegation on the Thopia marriage with the family. This is how it entered the Tocco archives; from there the allegation reached the family's early-modern genealogists.³³

Similar to the assumption about the Tocco lineage with the Angevins is the idea about Guillelmo's marriage with a Marguerite of the Orsini family. The Orsini ruled the Ionian islands in the 13th century. Originating from Rome, some members of this family established their power over the Ionian islands of Kefalonia, Ithaka and Zakynthos, allegedly after the Fourth Crusade, when a *Madius* Orsini was invested with the title of the island's count palatine. Between 1258 and 1302, *Madius'* alleged son *Riccardo* was recorded as an Angevin governor on the islands and their *baiulus* on Corfu. *Riccardo* was personally connected with the Villehardouin rulers of Morea and other prominent families of the Frankish Peloponnese (the Chauderon, the St. Omer). The alleged father of Guillelmo's Orsini wife would have, then, been *Riccardo's* son *Giovanni I* who ruled the Heptanese 1304–1316/17 and directed the family further towards the Greek spheres of power through his marriage with the daughter of Despot of Epiros, Nikephoros I Komnenos Doukas.

Today, no source exists to explicitly confirm that a daughter of Giovanni I and his Greek wife was ever married to Guillelmo Tocco, so the idea about his conjugal attachment to the powerful Orsini, and, consequently, his advancement resulting from this connection, can not be taken with certainty. Another reason to suspect this presumption comes out from a possibility that Guillelmo's alleged Orsini marriage might have, actually, reflected another marital bond of people with similar names and family connections – that of Marguerite entitled *comitissa Cefaloniae*,

who was the younger daughter of William II Villehardouin and the wife of Riccardo Orsini.³⁴

Even though it is not certain that Guillelmo was directly allied with the Orsini, the circumstances of his advancement in Greece still put him in close connection with this family. In the thirteenth century, the Orsini were the vassals of the Angevins in Naples, but, at the same time, they were also related to Nikephoros I Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. Following the death of Despot Nikephoros (cc. 1297), Philip of Taranto claimed the succession right granted to him by the terms of his marriage to Nikephoros' daughter Thamar and entitled himself *Despotus Romaniae*. Nikephoros' widow, however, disregarded this, herself assuming the regency till the maturity of her son Thomas whom she entitled Despot. She was also pondering to recall Thamar's dowery, namely the towns Naupaktos, Eulochos, Angelokastro and Vonitsa, which she planned to concede to the Byzantine Emperor in the support of her son's marriage with Anna, the daughter of Byzantine co-Emperor Michael IX (1294–1320). This provoked an Angevin military campaign 1304–1306, that eventually ended in Prince Philip's defeat and his loss of Butrinto, Vonitsa and Naupaktos. Importantly, in this campaign Giovanni I Orsini took sides with his Angevin suzerains, but his sons and successors, Niccolo and Giovanni II, did not think the same way and preferred to ally with Epiros. To take the Despotate for himself, Niccolo (1318–1323) killed his maternal uncle, Despot Thomas; in 1323, he himself was killed by his brother Giovanni, who then governed Epiros till his death, some time between 1335–1337/8. Giovanni's formal suzerain in Naples was Prince Philip of Taranto (entitled Latin Emperor through his second marriage with Catherine of Valois whom he married after having repudiated Thamar), and he still required Giovanni's formal loyalty. To ensure his subjection, in 1324–1325 Philip of Taranto joined a campaign his brother, John of Gravena, organized against the Principality of Achaia. In this campaign, Giovanni II Orsini was deposed of his islands and forced to retreat from the Heptanese to Epiros (1324) where he was protected by the Byzantine Emperor. The Angevins stroke again in 1331, when Philip's son-in-law, Duke of Athens Walter II of Brienne succeeded in having Giovanni formally accept the Angevin supremacy over Epiros.³⁵

During these events, Corfu was one of the most important Angevin posts in the region. It is in this period when *Guillelmo*, the "founder" of the Greek Tocco branch served there and became familiar with the Orsini legacy that later came to the hands of his son Leonardo. Modern scholars

today commonly agree that *Guillelmo* served as the Captain General on Corfu between 1328 and his death in 1335. A few documents of the family archive show, however, that he had been on the island even earlier, performing some other governing tasks. In 1327, for instance, he operated there as an *inquisitor* (*Guillelmo de Tocco de Neapoli militi Inquisitori in ciuitate et Insula Corfiensi*) commissioned to investigate a juridical case. Then, a *quietanza* issued by Prince Philip's son and heir Robert on June 13, 1335 (confirmed on January 12, 1345), mentions him as holding the competences of a *magister massarius* on Corfu between March 19, until April 24, of the thirteenth indiction (=1330). Only after this date *Guillelmo* was entitled Captain General of Corfu, which post he was mentioned to have held only for some eleven months, until March 18, of the fourteenth indiction (=1331), and not until 1335 as it is commonly assumed.³⁶

Guillelmo's position as the Angevin Captain General on Corfu consisted of several duties, one of them being the supervision of the island's production income, customs, and expenses. This must have brought him substantial benefits and his finances seem to have considerably increased. He also held some land on the island, which his eldest son later sold, and we know that his ten-month salary accounted 100 *hyperpera* and 8 *grossi*, and even grew additional 50 *hyperpera* as an extraordinary gift from the Prince of Taranto. Yet this may not have been enough for him, as from the above-mentioned *quietanza* it seems that *Guillelmo* appropriated some money without the permission of his suzerain. The *quietanza* of 1335 attests that he never produced a receipt for the salaries of his officers, and the courtly finances considered him indebted for this until his death. The obligation to solve this debt fell upon *Guillelmo*'s sons, who ensured the royal oblivion for their father's affair only after several years of supplications to the royal court.³⁷

²³ Zurita, *Historia*, fols. 199v–200r. A similar view of the Tocco as descending from the Byzantine imperial family has remained until some modern family historians, e.g. Bisogni, *Le imperiali famiglie*, 53.

²⁴ Ammirato, *Delle famiglie*, vol. 2, 209; Scipione Mazzella, *Descrittione del regno di Napoli*, vol. 2, 643; Luigi Contarino, *La nobiltà di Napoli in dialogo* (Naples: Cacchii, 1619), 97; Pachichelli, *Il Regno di Napoli*, 545; Summonte, *Raccolta*, 48; Cappacius, *Historiae Neapolitanae*, 271; 273–5; Pignatore, *Memorie*, 76; Gonzaga, *Memorie*, 137. A confirmation that the early-modern Tocco presented themselves as coming from the Goths can be

found on a sixteenth-century Tocco epitaph by Constantine Lascaris in Madrid (1535): REGES TOCCORUM MIGRAVIMUS IN AUSONIAM TERRAM, QUANDO GETARUM MARS FUREBAT IN ITALIA. Most usually, an Ugolino was considered the 'founder' of the Tocco although several genealogical tables kept in the *busta* 11 of the family archive record Adam at the beginning of this lineage. For a general guidance on this kind of genealogies see Godfried Croenen, "Princely and Noble Genealogies, Twelfth to Fourteenth Century: Form and Function," in *The Medieval Chronicle: Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle held in Driebergen/Utrecht 13–16 July, 1996*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam–Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999), 84–95. For the pseudo-importance of a 'primary moment' in the group formation, Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of the Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), 12–13. Mythical figures of Greek and Roman antiquity, as well as the heroes of the Great Migration, can be found in the traditions of other Italian families, many of which were aligned with the Tocco (e.g. Orsini, Pierleoni, Muti, Bovio, Sansovino).

²⁵ ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 1, 4; *ibid.*, 1, 6, fol. 147r; *ibid.*, 1, 11, fol. 8r; Andrea Morosini, *Corsi di penna*, 26–8; 35–40; Contarino, *La nobiltà*, 97; Gonzaga, *Memorie*, 137. For a tendency to shape familial identities with a reference to various Germanic leaders in the Hohenstaufen era, see Kantorowitz, *Frederick II*, 313. An illustration of a similar Tocco practice under the Habsburgs in the later epochs can be found in ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 2, perg. no. 71 (1522, February 5, issued in Brussels).

²⁶ ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 1, 4. Cf. the records of the Archivio della collegiate di s. Spirito in Benevento, fols. 16a and 23a, published by Pachichelli, *Il Regno di Napoli*, 233. An advancement pattern similar to that of the Tocco has recently been discerned for some other clans close to them (e.g. the Ruffo/Russo) by Giuseppe Caridi, *La spada, la seta, la croce: i Ruffo di Calabria dal XIII al XIX secolo* (Torino: Società editrice internazionale, 1995), 5–21. On the Tocco castle in the valley of Benevento, see Anonymus Mediolanensis, *De Italia Medii Aevi Dissertatio Chorographica*, in RIS, vol. 10, coll. 254. On its size and function in the Middle Ages, Michèle Benaiteau, *Vassalli e cittadini: la signoria rurale nel Regno di Napoli attraverso lo studio dei feudi dei Tocco di Montemilleto (XI–XVIII secolo)* (Bari: Edipuglia, 1997), 122–136. Some indication about the Tocco land distribution during the pre-Angevin epochs can be found in Reg. Ang., vol. 1, pp. 220–221 (1269–70); Reg. Ang., vol. 45, no. 61, p. 38 (April 5, 1293); Reg. Ang., vol. 31, no. 9, pp. 20–21 (1306–1307). For other Tocco buried in the St. Lupo's church, see Appendix I. For some general trends on the development of the nobility in this period, see Anne J. Duggan, *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Rochester, NY: Boydell, 2000).

²⁷ Amalia Montanaro Marinelli, *Pergamene di Vitulano e Tocco del periodo Normanno*, vol. 1, special edition of Cenacolo Fraggiano, 2, no. 5 (1974), as from the notes Anthony T. Luttrell generously shared with me. Also, Reg. Honor. III, vol. 2, no. 6173 (16, I, eleventh year of the pontificate/1226), p. 467. As from ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 4, perg. 134 (1250, May [...], in Limata), Frederick II confirms the investiture Landulfo had inherited from his father-in-law, a "Raone di Limata." For the institution of *iudices* see, Pierre Racine, "Le rôle des *judices* dans la formation des communes italiennes," in *Villes et sociétés urbaines au Moyen Âge—Cultures et civilisations médiévales* 11 (Paris: Presse de l'Université de Paris Sorbonne, 1995), 163–73.

²⁸ Reg. Ang. vol. 2, no. 758 (April 21, 1269), pp. 196–97, mentions the royal investiture to a Frenchman “Roberto di Lavena” for a “ligium homagium” with the “castra Tochi et Petre Tochi sita in iustitiatu Principatus et Terre Beneventane.” Also, Reg. Ang. vol. 3, no. 81, p. 106, mentions some Tocco as Lavena’s dependants. For *Johannes* (“discretus vir magister loannes de Tocco medicinalis scientie doctor fisicus regis Caroli primi et regis Caroli secundi”), see Reg. Ang. vol. 36, no. 86, p. 14; Reg. Ang. vol. 44, no. 38, p. 12; Camillo Minieri Riccio, *Studi storici su’ fascicoli Angioini dell’archivio della Regia Zecca di Napoli* (Napoli: Detken, 1863), 66 (February 3, 1298). For *Henricus*, Reg. Ang. vol. 19, no. 28, p. 12 (August 20, 1278). For *Guillelmus* of the Dominican order, see ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fols. 53r/57r, a copy of a document from destroyed Reg. Carl. II, 1303, fol. 118v; Reg. Ang. vol. 44, no. 49, p. 15, (December 16, 1292). A comprehensive modern review of his life can be found in *Das Leben des heiligen Thomas von Aquino erzählt von Wilhelm von Tocco*, ed. Willehad Paul Eckert (Düsseldorf: Patmos, 1965), esp. pp. 58–68. For some other Tocco among the high clergy of the period, Reg. Ang. vol. 6, no. 192, p. 71; Reg. Ang. vol. 12, no. 12, p. 149; Reg. Greg. IX, vol. 1: 2, no. 413, p. 256 (August 1230, camp near Ceprano); *ibid.*, no. 417, p. 262 (1230, after August); Reg. Urban. IV, vol. 1, no. 24, p. 7 (1261, October 21, at Viterbo); *ibid.*, no. 25, p. 7 (1261, November 23, at Viterbo); Reg. Bonif. VIII, no. 4853 (1302, October 21 in Lateran), pp. 569–570; Reg. John XXII, vol. VII, no. 40630, p. 196, 9 (1328, March); Reg. Urb. V, lett. Com., vol. 7, no. 22259, p. 333, p. 9 (1368); ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fols. 61r/64r (1348, certified copy dated 1695); ASN, ATM, *Atti notari*, busta 4, perg. no. 148 (December 1354). Cf. Appendix I, “The Tocco recorded at the beginning of the Angevin rule.” For the French colonisation of Southern Italy under the Angevins, see Patrick Gilli, “L’intégration manquée des Angevins en Italie: le témoignage des historiens,” *ÉA*, 11–34.

²⁹ Reg. Ang., vol. 30, no. 13, p. 15, (August 8, 1289, in Naples) mentions *miles Henrico Tocco de Neapoli*, and *Matheus* and *Henricus Luparelli de Tocco*. ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 39, fol. 84r, a certified copy (August 27, 1613) of the Roberti Registrum ad ann. 1324, fol. 289r, destroyed in the fire of 1943, mentions “Petrus and Riccardus.” On this tendency and the Angevin court at the time, see Leonard, *La Reigne*, 1, 17–20; 37–40; Dunbabin, *Charles I*, 188–192; Benaiteau, *Vassalli*, 63–4; Charles Dunbabin, “The Household and entourage of Charles I of Anjou, king of the Regno 1266–1285,” *Historical Research* 77 (2004): 313–36. For a chronology of the Angevin ‘Italianization,’ (especially apparent from the reign of King Robert) see Samantha Kelly, “Noblesse de robe et noblesse d’esprit à la cour de Robert de Naples: la question d’italianisation,” in *La noblesse dans les territoires angevins à la fin du moyen âge: Actes du colloque international organisé par l’Université d’Angers, Angers – Saumur, 3–6 June 1998*, eds. Noël Coulet and Jean-Michel Matz (Rome: École Française, 2000), 347–61. For useful general remarks on the *milites*, see Reynolds, *Fiefs and Vassals*, 44–5.

³⁰ Bacci, *Nova et perfectissima descriptio*, coll. 25, A–F. For mythical perceptions of Naples, see Marcus Antonius Surgens, *Neapolis illustratae*, in *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, tom 9, pars 3 (Lugdunum: Van der, 1723), 12, 49, 88. Benedictus de Falco, *Antiquitates Neapolis*, in *Thesaurus antiquitatum et historiarum Italiae*, tom 9, pars 1 (Lugdunum: Van der, 1723), 14, attesting to poor attention paid to older building structures even in his lifetime. On the Angevin attention to Naples’ residential areas, Dunbabin, *Charles I*, 188–9. On the Capuana castle, see Riccardo Filanghieri, *Il Castello di Capuana, fortezza e reggia* (Napoli: Il tribunale 19, 1936). A critical overview of the *seggio* nobility

can be found in Giuliana Vitale, "La nobiltà di seggio a Napoli nel basso Medioevo: aspetti della dinamica interna," in *ASPN* 106 (1989): 1–19.

³¹ Léonard, *Les Angevins*, 275 and 279, calculated that in 1298, the *Seggio di Porta Capuana* consisted of 104 knights and 35 *milites*. Cf. Gonzaga, *Memorie*, 137, and Benaiteau, *Vassalli*, 33, who consider the quarter of Nido (Nilo) to have been the core area of the Tocco residences, which was the case indeed, but in the subsequent centuries. Attestations about the Tocco palaces in the Capuana gate quarter can be found in Reg. Urb. V, Let. Com., vol. 5, no. 15962, p. 13 (1365, November), and *ibid.*, no. 17977, (1365, November); ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 6 (3), fol. 70r. ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 4, perg. no. 140 (August 18, 1353 in Naples), mentions Pietro Tocco as buying several "case palazziate" from his relative "Ciczula di Tocco di Napoli." For an example of a fifteenth-century family property distribution among the Tocco of the Capuana *seggio*, see Nada Zečević, "The Italian Kin of the Tocco Despot: Some Notes about the Relatives of Carlo I Tocco," *ZRVI* 39 (2002): 241; 246. On the affirmation of the rural barons in the Kingdom's urban environment, see Benaiteau, *Vassalli*, 78; Cammarosano, "Élites sociales," 193–201. One lateral chapel (*Capella Tocco o degli Innocenti*) in the St. *Catherina de Formiello* church, also located in the Capuana *seggio*, belongs to the family, but is of a later date. More on the church, see G. Ceci, "La chiesa e il convento di Santa Caterina a Formiello," *Napoli nobilissima* 9:4 (1900): 49–51 and *op. cit.*, *Napoli nobilissima* 9:5 (1900): 64–71.

³² On Guillelmo as the 'founding ancestor' of the branch, see Ferdinand Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter: von der Zeit Justinians bis zur türkischen Eroberung* (Stuttgart: Cotta, 1889), vol. 2, book 4, chapter 1, paragraph 2, p. 231. For his residence in the Capuana quarter, see ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 33, fols. 76r–77v and 78r–v. For Philip's donations and his favor to Guillelmo, ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 1 (August 10, 1322, in Naples); ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 2 (November 21, 1322, in Barletta), the confirmation of the Prince's concession issued by Empress Catherine of Valois. One of the confirmations of this donation, ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 4 (1332, November 20, in Naples), quoted a formula indicating that the donated land was a 'fee-simple' one – a fee without limitation to any class of heirs or restrictions on transfer of ownership – but in the case of Guillelmo based on the *de novo* condition which excluded his horizontal lineage from its inheritance ("causa donationis purae simplicis et irrevocabilis [...] imperpetuum de nouo concedimus [...] pro stando per eum eiusque heredes [...]").

³³ For various opinions of Guillelmo's connection to the Angevins through marriage, see e.g. ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 6, 1; *ibid.*, 11, 8: 2; Francesco Fanelli, *Atene Attica Descritta da suoi Principii sino all acquisto fatto dall' Armi Venete nel 1687* (Venice: Bortoli, 1707), book 3, pp. 589 and 591 (the reference as from Remondini, *Estratto*, 343); Allocati, *Archivio*, 81; Valeria del Vasto, *Baroni nel tempo: i Tocco di Montemilleto dal XVI al XVIII secolo* (Napoli Edizioni scientifiche italiane, 1995), 15. For Angevin marriage strategies, see Dunbabin, *Charles I*, 181–188; Isabelle Heulland–Donat, "Quelques réflexions autour de la cour angevine comme milieu culturel au XVe siècle," *ÉA*, 184. For the public impact of Boccaccio's affair see Léonard, *Les Angevins*, 293. For the Musachi story, see Giovanni Musachi, *Breve Memoria de li discendenti de nostra casa Musachi*, in Hopf, *Chroniques*, 297, and its critical commentary, in Gennaro M. Monti, "Una leggendaria principessa Angioina moglie di un dinasta Albanese," *NSA*, 587–91. For a source of this

Musachi hint, see *The Cronaca di Partenope*, ed. Kelly, 78. ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 43, fols. 173r–174v, contains a brief note by Constantine Musachi, who sent a *manu propria* copy of his family's history to the Tocco thus allegedly wanting to inform the Tocco of their past.

³⁴ The Orsini Archives, nowadays kept in the Archivio Capitolino of Rome do not contain any reference to such an event. ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 4, perg. no. 152 (1370 in Naples) represents a grant to Pietro, the son of Guillelmo de Tocco for a church service to Guillelmo and his wife, who was not of another family (*Giovanna Torella*). Among the scholars who accepted the assumption of Guillelmo's conjugal attachment to the Orsini are Jean Alexandre Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la Principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies* (Paris: Imprimeurs Unis, 1843), vol. 1: part 1, p. 307, n. 5; Hopf, GG, 2, 34; *Id.*, "Genealogical table of the Tocco," 530; Romanos, Γρατιανός Ζώρξης, 288; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, vol. 2, book 4, chapter 1, paragraph 2, pp. 230–1. Cf. Giuseppe Schirò, "Il Ducato di Leucade e Venezia fra il XIV e XV secolo," *Atti dell' Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti. Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 132 (1973–4): 594, n. 1; Anthony T. Luttrell, "Vonitza in Epirus and its lords," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoelenici* 11 (n. s. 1) (1964): 136, and *ibid.*, n. 1. Guillelmo's marriage to Marguerite Orsini was also questioned (although not explicitly rejected) by David Jacoby, *La Féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les "Assises de Romanie"* (Paris–The Hague: Mouton, 1971), 47; Asonites, Τὸ Νότιο Ιόνιο, 82, n. 83. On the Orsini, see Sandro Carocci, *Baroni di Roma: Dominazioni signorili e lignagi aristocratici nel duecento e nel primo trecento* (Roma: EFR, 1993), 387–403; Franca Alegrezza, *Organizzazione del potere e dinamiche familiari: gli Orsini dal Duecento agli inizi del Quattrocento* (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medioevo, 1998). On Madio, see Andreas Kiesewetter, "Megarites di Brindisi, Maio di Monopoli e la Signoria sulle isole ionie (1185–1250)," *Archivio storico pugliese* 59 (2006): 45–90.

³⁵ For the summaries of the regional events between the 1290s and the mid-1330s, see Monti, "Roberto di Angio e il principato di Acaja nel 1321," NSA, 611–29. Cagesse, *Roberto*, vol. 2, pp. 305–6, 342–3; Longnon, *L'Empire Latin*, 314–347; Norman J. Housley, "Angevin Naples and the defence of the Latin East: Robert the Wise and the Naval League of 1334," *Byzantion* 51: 2 (1981): 555; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 56–61; 81–108; Lock, *The Franks*, 129; Recently on the Angevin aspirations in the region and the Prince's marriage, see Sp. Asonites, "Ο δεσπότης Ρωμανίας Φίλιππος και οι αξιώσεις των Ταραντίνων κυρίων της Κέρκυρας επί των ηπειρωτικών κτήσεων των Orsini (1318–1331)," *Byzantiaka* 12 (1992): 119–54; Maria Dourou–Elioroulou, "Η ανδεγαυική παρουσία στην Αχαΐα και στην Κέρκυρα τα πρώτα χρόνια του Καρόλου Β' (1289–1300)," *Εώς και Εσπέρια* 1 (1993): 57; Andreas Kiesewetter, "Il trattato del 18 ottobre 1305 fra Filippo di Taranto e Giovanni Orsini di Cefalonia per la conquista dell'Epiro," *Archivio storico Pugliese* 47 (1994): 177–213; *id.*, "I principi di Taranto e la Grecia (1294–1373/83)," *Archivio storico Pugliese* 64: 1–4 (2001): 53–100; Spyros N. Asonites, *Ανδεγαυική Κέρκυρα* (Corfu: A'postrofos, 1999), 82–92; *id.*, Τὸ Νότιο Ιόνιο, 71–92.

³⁶ For the chronology of Guillelmo's service see ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 39, fol. 155r; Romanos, Γρατιανός Ζώρξης, 148; Blantès, *Ἡ Λευκάς*, 45; Léonard, *Les Angevins*, 77; Schirò, "Prolegomeni I," 10; *id.*, "Il Ducato," 594, n. 1. Cf. Asonites, *Ανδεγαυική Κέρκυρα*, 131–3. The chronology and nature of Guillelmo's title were critically analyzed by Anthony

T. Luttrell, "Guillelmo Tocco, Captain of Corfu 1330–1331," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 3 (1977): 45–6. His tasks of inquisition are documented in ASN, ATM, *Scrittura diverse*, busta 39, fol. 69r (1327, March 26) (certified copy, 1613, August 19). Guillelmo's mission on Corfu follows a practice started by King Charles I to send his loyal familiares of Naples to his missions overseas, see Maria Dourou-Eliopoulou, "Les 'étrangers latins' en Romanie angevine sous Charles I^{er} (1266–85)," *Byzantinoslavica* 59 (1998): 65–70. ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 6 (January 12, 1345, of the twelfth indiction in Naples) is a confirmation by Prince Robert of a *quietanza* issued by King Robert on June 13, 1335 of the third indiction to Guillelmo's sons.

³⁷ ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 6 (January 12, 1345, of the twelfth indiction in Naples). The last will of Arsenios Delegotes, as from Hopf, *Ιστορική Πραγματεία*, transl. Romanos, pp. 314–7, was edited on October 29, 1469, on Corfu. Another document, reportedly attesting to Guillelmo's children as his heirs on Corfu is mentioned in Romanos, *Γρατιανός Ζώρζης*, 290 (dated to August 2, 1353), but without any precise reference to the terms of inheritance. Also, see Spyros N. Asonites, "Οι μεταβιβάσεις της κερκυραϊκής βαρονίας του conte de Martina κατά το 14^ο και 15^ο αι," *Δελτίον Εραλδικής και Γενεαλογικής Εταιρίας Ελλάδος* 9 (1992): 9–36.

The lords of the Heptanese

While Guillelmo served the Angevins on Corfu, back in the Kingdom important changes took place. Previously a largely rural settlement, under King Robert the Wise (1309–1343) Naples transformed into a vibrant royal capital, a city of good opportunities and a highly sociable urban environment.³⁸ A more definite number of Naples' residents at the time is estimated to have been around sixty thousand. Ideally, their social division went along the frames of the tripartite medieval ideal, but the real structure of this society was more complex. The privileged French and Provençal knights who came to the Kingdom following King Charles I had already been outnumbered by the 'Italian' nobility, a mixture of *homines novi* from various parts of the Apennines. The most notable among these newcomers were the Florentines, whose presence in Naples was a direct consequence of the old Gueph–Ghibelline rivalries that revived in the northern part of the peninsula at the beginning of the 14th century. At the time, the Ghibellines supported the Italian aspirations of German rulers Henry VII (Rex Romanorum 1308–1313; Holy Roman Emperor 1312–1313) and Ludwig the Bavarian (i.e. Louis IV, Duke of Bavaria from 1294, German King from 1314, crowned Holy Roman Emperor in 1328, d. 1347), so to resist this coalition, between 1315 and 1325, King Robert strengthened his ties with the Florentine Guelphs. The alliance proved effective in many aspects other than confronting the Germans. The Florentines, for instance, secured the Angevins with a direct connection to their family possessions in Provence, while the Angevin military force helped the Florentines challenge their traditional rivals in the North of the Apennines, the cities of Genoa and Milan. The alliance also enabled extensive Florentine cash supplies for the 'crusades' the Angevins organized against the Aragons in Sicily, while, in return, the Florentine merchants were granted an easy access to grain and wool from the Angevin Realm. During the 1320s, the relationship further evolved with the establishment of several Florentine banking companies in Naples,

with the Bardi and the Peruzzi being the most important among them. The enterprising employees of these banks quickly mixed with the Neapolitan nobility, so by the end of this decade, the Tuscan dialect and Florentine fashion had already prevailed in the Neapolitan high society.³⁹

No doubt, the most prominent Florentine in Naples under King Robert was Niccolò Acciaiuoli. He appeared there in the early 1320s as an accountant of his family's bank. Relying upon his father's wealth, as well as on his personal capabilities, Niccolò soon became the favorite of the Capuana quarter nobility. In the early 1330s, he attracted the attention of the royal family and became the retainer to the House of Taranto. Today, modern scholars agree that Niccolò missed no opportunity to affirm his position in the royal household, starting from financially supporting King Robert or the Greek campaigns of his brothers, Princes Philip of Taranto and John of Gravina, to personally bonding with Prince Philip's family as the tutor of his sons Robert and Louis and the alleged lover of the Prince's second wife, Empress Catherine. These liaisons brought an immense political power to Niccolò, and this became apparent shortly after the death of King Robert, when, in 1347, he became the Kingdom's Grand Seneschal and its *de facto* ruler. His political power prompted a substantial increase of his personal property, to which he now accounted various possessions in Angevin Greece, owed at the time by his mistress, Empress Catherine (namely, the Principality of Achaea and Kefalonia). A luxurious sign of Niccolò power, his burial place in Certosa del Galluzzo near Florence, is said to have been built largely from the assets he had accumulated in the Greek East.⁴⁰

Just around the time when Niccolò was affirming in Naples, Angevin governor of Corfu Guillelmo Tocco died (c. June 13, 1335). By that time, all his sons had already become mature, and had their own careers in the Kingdom. Pietro, as it seems the eldest among them, was the *familiaris* of the King's fraternal nephew, Robert of Taranto, and a well-established resident of the *Capuana* quarter. Pietro's wife was Isabella of San-Superano (*Sabrano*), whose family held a prominent place in the Angevin courtly hierarchy. An additional backup to the kindred was provided by another son of Guillelmo, Niccolò, who was the member of the Dominican order which the Angevins especially favored in Naples. Guillelmo's third son Ludovico (Louis, *Lisulo*) pursued a successful military career under King Robert and his successor, Queen Joanna I (1343–1382), which ultimately brought him a titular post of the Seneschal of Sicily.⁴¹

The career pattern of Guillelmo's sons reflects well a common medieval inheritance practice according to which junior noble branches had to live in the shadow of their elder siblings in order to prevent the dissolution of the family's authority and domain. Therefore, if they wanted to become fully independent, young Neapolitan nobles had to cross the boundaries of their own kin and search for opportunities elsewhere in the peninsula. Doing so, however, was not easy, because their chances at that time usually depended on a particular political constellation. Leonardo Tocco, nowadays unanimously considered the most famous of all Guillelmo's children, would have been among these under-privileged junior nobles whose perspectives in Naples highly depended on his elder brothers, while his independent advancement in the peninsula was limited by the powerful Visconti in the North and the reinforcement of the pontifical power in the central part of the Apennines.⁴² Despite this, by the late 1350s Leonardo still stood higher than any other kinsmen of his or previous Tocco generations. Around 1357, he was entitled Count palatine on the Ionian islands of Kefalonia, Zakynthos and Ithaka, and in the mid-1360s, he already held the prestigious Byzantine title of *dux Leucade*.⁴³

Documentary evidence on Leonardo is scarce and ambiguous, which makes it hard to explain in detail how exactly he reached his high position in Greece. Judging from his identification in this period, one might assume that his advancement was the result of his loyalty to his eldest brother Pietro, who, then, brought him in touch with Robert, Prince of Taranto/Latin Emperor (the son of Philip of Taranto and his first wife Thamar), sometime between 1346 and 1364. Other documents allege that Leonardo might have been invested with the County of Kefalonia, Ithaka and Zakynthos by Queen Joanna I, with similar competences as his father had on Corfu in the times of King Robert. Then, Leonardo's ensconcement on the Ionian islands notably coincided with an offensive Pope Innocent VI (1352–1362) was planning against the Turkish groups, whose presence in Greece had started to seriously trouble the region's Christian leaders, which suggests even a possibility that the young Tocco might have been sent to Greece with a task to follow up with planned pontifical offensive. Whether Leonardo was indeed the part of the Pope's 'anti-Turkish' project in the mid-1350s is not entirely clear because the historical sources lack any detailed information about him in this period, nor anything can be said about the role he might have had in the related papal plan to transfer the Knights of St. John from Rhodes to Morea in 1357. A probability that

he might have indeed been actively involved in these plans seems to be confirmed by the fact that in 1362, and again in 1372, Leonardo's name appeared among those of the most prominent Latins and Greeks whom from Popes Innocent VI and Gregory XI required substantial support for their own Turkish campaigns in the East.⁴⁴

Certainly a significant factor in Leonardo's advancement in Greece was his lineage. Sometime during the 1350s, he married Magdalena Buon-delmonti, the niece of the Kingdom's Grand Acciauli Seneschal. A few pieces of evidence suggest that Leonardo might have won Niccolò's favor long before having married Magdalena, namely when he actively mediated in the liberation of Niccolò's protégés, the Angevin Princes of Taranto, Gravina and Artois from their captivity in Hungary, where they had been taken during the family war for King Robert's inheritance (1347–1350). Successful as a negotiator, Leonardo must have seemed a useful bond for the Acciauli affairs in Greece – during the last two decades of his life, Niccolò directed his attention mostly to the Apennines, and he surely needed reliable kinsmen, in-laws and clientele to help him control his possessions overseas.⁴⁵

The marriage alliance with the niece of the Kingdom's Grand Seneschal brought great advantages to Leonardo. Apart from the Acciauli favor, and, perhaps, some landed possessions or a governing mandate in Greece, it invested him with a variety of sophisticated socio-political connections, liaisons, all desirable for his quick advancement in the Neapolitan society. The Acciauli were well-connected with the most prominent figures of the Angevin Realm: Niccolò's sister was the wife of Carlo Artus, the bastard son of King Robert; Niccolò's son Angelo was also the Grand Seneschal of the Kingdom; his paternal relative, himself too named Angelo, was King Robert's chancellor. Then, the Acciauli acted closely in association with the Buon-delmonti, who were considered one of the most prominent 'ancient' clans of the Florence Guelpha, and enjoyed a special favor of the Holy See. In Florence, the Buon-delmonti were notorious for their frequent conflicts with the city's Ghibbelines. Striving for wealth, status and power, they also became re-known for their tight military associations with various branches of their kinsmen and the related clientele (due to these associations, the Florentines of the time are sometimes called the 'tower society'), whom with they carefully cultivated ties of familial solidarity. Shortly before Leonardo's marriage with Magdalena, in 1342, this solidarity saved the Buon-delmonti from one Ghibelline reaction that broke out in Florence – Niccolò Acciauli received and employed

some of them at the court in Naples, thus helping the kindred not just survive the riot, but also acquire new possessions and additional contacts in the Italian South.⁴⁶

No doubt, Leonardo's alliance with the Buondelmonti-Acciaiuoli implied a strong sense of social prestige, too. The Grand Seneschal was surrounded by the important resources of rulership, as well as by the most popular ideologists of the time. His sister Lappa (who was Leonardo's mother-in-law) maintained close ties with St. Bridget of Sweden (c. 1303–1373), whose charitable and political work deeply impressed the pontif in Rome. Niccolò's close acquaintances were Petrarch and Boccaccio, and we know their works were extensively circulated among the Buondelmonti, whom from they could easily reach Leonardo as well.⁴⁷

The Ionian islands where Leonardo Tocco established around the year 1357, were at the frontier of the Angevin interest in Greece, and living on this frontier was surely far less pleasant than attending the Acciaiuoli entourage in Naples and Florence. North of the Ionian islands was the Greek Despotate of Epiros with Aetolia and Akarnania, the territories symbolically associated with the Angevin ruling legacy, but in this period factually subjected to the Serbian Empire of Dušan (r. 1331–1355, Emperor from 1346). The Serbian power over Epiros was instable after Dušan's death, which allowed Despot Niceforo II Orsini (r. 1335–1337/8; 1356–1359) and ambitious Albanian chieftain Carlo Thopia take larger parts of the region for themselves. The imperial Constantinople too was interested in restoring there, but the war that raged 1352–1357 between Emperor John V and John VI Kantakouzenos temporarily halted these aspirations. To the north-east of the Tocco domain was the Duchy of Athens, at the time in the hands of the Catalan company that now nominally accepted the sovereignty of the Aragon Kings of Sicily, while Manuel, the son of John Kantakouzenos, was swiftly establishing across the Peloponnese (1361), claiming both the Despotate in Morea and the Principality of Achaea. On top of all this, the Black Death was sweeping across Europe (1347–1350), and Greece was on its way too, while the Turkish raids to coastal areas of continental Greece and the Peloponnese grew by day, and the Venetians were increasing their military resources around the Ionian islands which they claimed for themselves since the Crusaders' partition of the Empire.⁴⁸

Amidst this massive clash of various interests in the region, around 1357, Leonardo appeared as Count on Kefalonia, Ithaka and Zakynthos.

Soon, he headed towards the island of Leukas which his Angevin suzerains also claimed together with Epiros. Around 1362 (1366 latest), Leonardo accomplished his aim successfully and added the Byzantine title Dux of Leukas to his title of Count. Significantly, the time when Leonardo came to power on this island roughly coincides with the death of his immediate suzerain, Prince/Emperor Robert of Taranto (1364). Robert's heritage was claimed by several of his relatives, first his widow Marie of Bourbon (through Hugh of Lusignan, her son from the first marriage), then Robert's younger brother, Prince Philip III, and, finally, the families of Savoy, d'Enghien and de Flor. Leonardo, no doubt, benefited from this confusion, which left him with only one enemy to confront, the Venetians. Their citizen Gratianos Zorzes had administered Leukas first on behalf of the Angevin commander Walter of Brienne, then independently since 1355. The sources about how Leonardo confronted the Venetians on Leukas are scarce, but it seems that his success was not the result of a major military campaign. Rather, Leonardo was mentioned as taking advantage of the islanders' ongoing anti-Venetian sentiment to secretly approach them, help their rebellion against Zorzes, and negotiate the terms of his own establishment on the island.⁴⁹

The Venetians retreated from Leukas fairly easily, reportedly after Zorzes' death in 1362, which might suggest that they quickly abandoned their claims to the rebellious island. Nowadays, however, we know this was not true because for the next century or so, the *Signoria* took every opportunity to interfere in the island's affairs. A grant of the Venetian citizenship conceded to Leonardo and his family in 1361 – later, it was renewed to his successors on several occasions – shows that the Venetian quick departure could, actually, easily be a tentative move with which the *Serenissima* counted on keeping Leukas under its influence even with Leonardo as the island's new ruler. Along his citizenship in Venice, Leonardo was additionally tied to the Venetian Republic by marrying his eldest daughter Petronella to the Venetian Duke of Naxos and Aegean archipelago, *Nicollo dalle Carceri* (1372). This marriage was certainly a great political asset to the Tocco, as *Nicollo's* family was very influential in Venice and the Levant.⁵⁰

No doubt, Leonardo's alliance with Venice opened new perspectives to him and his kindred in the Heptanese, but it is not certain that the Tocco lord perceived the situation the same way. In 1368, he was recorded as robbing a ship on which a Venetian subject, merchant *Rucerio Mangnari* was transporting lumber. The Venetian authorities conducted a long

process and deemed Leonardo responsible for the merchant's loss of goods and captivity, but the *Signoria's* instructions to its Captain about how to approach Leonardo Tocco with "selected words" in order to secure the merchant's liberation, suggest that the Tocco lord saw his bond with Venice as a mere formality.⁵¹

While Leonardo was establishing on Leukas, his neighborhood was on the verge of a new turmoil. In 1359, Despot Niceforo II was killed by Carlo Thopia in a battle at Achelos. The Serbian ruler in Epiros, Simeon Uroš, was forced to make concessions to Thomas Preljubović, the son of Gregorios Preljub, Dušan's governor in Thessaly, who now established himself in Ioannina (1366–1384) and became notorious for his clashes with Albanians Peter Losha (Ljoshka) of Arta and his rival, Ghinno Bua Spata of Angelokastron. In the Peloponnese, the dispute about the inheritance of Robert of Taranto, fuelled after his death, finally ended in Queen Joanna I taking over the supreme power over the Principality of Achaia, first from her cousin, Robert's younger brother Philip III of Taranto in 1373, then, in 1375, from her husband, James IV of Majorca. Just around the same time (1374), the Queen's other relative, Jacques de Baux, became titular Latin Emperor and he soon challenged the Angevin claim to the Principality once again. Fortunately to the Tocco, the Kantakouzenoi of Morea were in peace, but the Ottoman raids to the Balkans and the Peloponnese challenged this, as well as did the Venetian expansion in the Adriatic and its renewed rivalry with Genoa (in war 1378–1381). The situation in Constantinople was no better, with John V engaging again in another internal war (1373–1379), this time against his own son, Andronikos IV.

A comparative silence of the sources referring to the Tocco military activities between 1362 and the mid-1370s indicates that despite this general instability of the region, Leonardo lived in a relative peace. Rare material remains from this period on the islands indicate that the Tocco lord established his chief residence in the Orsini castle of St. George on Kefalonia. Around the same time, Leonardo sold a part of his property in the Neapolitan *Porta Capuana seggio* to several of his distant paternal kinsmen who remained in the Apennines. This, as well as his letter of May 28, 1374, where he openly designated himself as a guest in Naples, both indicate that Greece had already become a place of permanent residence to Leonardo and his family.⁵²

Leonardo may have committed himself to leave Italy and transfer his residence to his new insular domain in Greece, but this still did not mean

a great change in his identity. His administration too might to have adopted some local Greek customs, but this was only on the lower level of his apparatus, while the key instances of his power still operated upon the models of his suzerains in Naples. For his court and army, Leonardo recruited officers and skilled soldiers directly from the Apennines, investing them with lands and privileges (e.g. 'burgensatica') all over the Heptanese.⁵³ The members of this new Tocco elite mostly lived in their fortifications, and had little connection with the local subjects of the domain. In everyday life, Leonardo's family and its entourage spoke Neapolitan or Florentine vulgar dialects, and their routines were still organized according to the practices, values and products they brought or had supplied from their homeland.

Religion was one particular aspect in which Leonardo demonstrated his Italian/ Latin character. Based upon the Crusaders' partition of Greece, in 1205 the Ionian islands were subject to the Catholic archbishopric of Corinth, while the local Orthodox population remained under the jurisdiction of their local Orthodox bishops whom the Orsini generally tolerated on the islands. Leonardo's policy towards the Orthodox was different and his aggressive attitude eventually resulted in the banishment of their bishops from Leukas and Kefalonia. The effects of his intolerance, however, proved largely insignificant. Allegedly, the Orthodox clerics kept secretly returning to the islands, while a handful of minor Catholic sacral points Leonardo inherited from the Orsini on the islands (e.g. the small churches "Frankoklisia" and St. John Antzousi in the vicinity of St. Maure) failed to become the centers of a massive conversion to Catholicism. Regardless of this weakness, Leonardo's intolerance to religion of his Greek subjects continued for the next three generations of his successors, and remained a powerful hallmark of the family's identity in Greece.⁵⁴

The lacunae that appear in the sources about Leonardo I Tocco, eventually bring any attempt to determine the true conditions of his establishment in Latin Greece to an incomplete end. Among few things certainly known about his initial advancement is the fact that he was a junior son of a Neapolitan Tocco *miles* Guillelmo who had served the Angevin house of Taranto in Naples and on Corfu. Leonardo's eldest brother may have helped him enter the service of the family's suzerains, but, the evolution of his service to a closer bond with the Kingdom's

Seneschal, Niccolò Acciaiuoli could have also been conditioned by his personal merits. On a private level, this bond brought Leonardo the opportunity to marry Magdalena Buondelmonti, whose family, then, prompted for him the connection with the most powerful circles of the Guelph coalition, including here the Pope as well. Leonardo's possession of the domain in the Heptanese must have been an outcome of at least one of his alliances, yet, his political power and further expansion to Leukas are directly linked to his personal leadership skills, as well as his abilities to develop effective relations with the most prominent political players in his neighborhood (e.g. Venice).⁵⁵

The build-up of Leonardo's political power on the Heptanese affirmatively reflected upon his family authority. By instituting his domain on the islands, Leonardo was free to form and lead his own networks of officers, retainers and clients independently from his eldest brother. Most of these people were from the Apennines, with linguistic, social and cultural preferences he himself had. This all allowed Leonardo live his life in Greece according to a pattern he had memorized from the Capuana corners of his youth as a Neapolitan, Italian, Catholic, noble and become independent leader of his family and domain.

³⁸ For an idealized image of Naples contemporary to this time, cf. Francesco Petrarca, *Itinerarium ad sepulchrum domini nostri Ihesu Christi, English and Latin Petrarch's guide to the Holy Land: Itinerary to the Sepulcher of Our Lord Jesus Christ*, with introductory essay, translation, and notes by Theodore J. Cachey, Jr. (Notre Dame, Ind: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), chapter 10, 1–3, pp. 76–7. For major cultural aspects of the city's development at the time, see. G. de Blasiis, "Cino da Pistoia nell' Università di Napoli," *ASPN* 11 (1886): 139–50; É. Berteaux, "Les Artistes Français au Service des Rois Angevins de Naples," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 1 (1905): 265–81; Walter Goetz, *König Robert von Neapel (1309–1343): Persönlichkeit und sein Verhältnis zum Humanismus* (Tubingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1910), 33–3; Gennaro M. Monti, *Storia dell' Università di Napoli nell' Età Angioina* (Napoli: Ricciardi, 1924); C. C. Coulter, "The Library of the Angevin Kings at Naples," *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 75 (1944): 141–55; Sabatini, *Napoli*, 33–8; 53; Lancaster, *In the Shadow of Vesuvius*, 37–73. For King Robert's ruling ideology, see Alessandro Barbero, "La propaganda di Re di Napoli (1309–1343)," in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel Due e nel Trecento: Convegno internazionale dall'École française de Rome e Dipartimento storico Università degli studi di Trieste* (Trieste, 2–5. marzo 1993), ed. Paolo Cammarosano (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994), 111–31; Roberto Paciocco, "Angioini e 'spirituali': i differenti piani cronologici di un problema," in *ÉA*, 253–88; Samantha Kelly, *The New Salomon: Robert of Naples (1309–1343) and*

Fourteenth-century Kingship (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2003). On Angevin building activities in Naples in King Robert's era, Colletta, *Napoli*, 139–256.

³⁹ The number of sixty thousand Naples' inhabitants was suggested by Léonard, *Les Angevins*, 289, nn. 3–6. For the city's social situation at the time, see Michelangelo Schipa, "Contese sociali napoletane nel Medio Evo," *ASPN* 32 (1907): 361–67. *Id.*, "Nobili e popolani in Napoli nel Medio Evo in rapporto all'amministrazione municipale," *ASI* 7:8 (1924): 1–44; 187–248; Gilli, "L'intégration manquée," 11–34. On the Angevin relationships with Florentine Guelphs, see R. Bevere, "La Signoria di Firenze tenuta da Carlo figlio di Re Roberto," *ASPN* 33:6 (1916): 4–420; Giovanni Tabacco, *La casa di Francia nell'azione politica di Giovanni XXII* (Rome: Istituto storico per il Medio Evo, 1953); R. G. Witt, "A Note on Guelphism in Late Medieval Florence," *Nuova Rivista Storica* 53 (1969): 134–145; Norman J. Housley, "The Italian Crusades: the Papal Angevin Alliance and the Crusades Against Christian Lay Powers 1254–1343 (Oxford: OUP, 1982); David Abulafia, "Southern Italy and the Florentine Economy 1265–1370," in *id.* *Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean* (Ashgate: Variorum, 1987), no. VI; Edwin S. Hunt, *The Medieval Super-Companies: A Study of the Peruzzi Company of Florence* (Cambridge: CUP, 1994); David Abulafia, "Genova Angioina 1318–35: gli inizi della Signoria di Roberto re di Napoli," in *id.*, *Mediterranean Encounters, Economic Religious, Political, 1100–1550* (Ashgate: Variorum, 2000), no. XVIII, pp. 15–24; Tocco, *Niccolò Acciaiuoli*, 10.

⁴⁰ On Niccolò's life, see Mattheus Palmerius, *Vita Nicolai Acciaiuoli*, ed. Ginno Scaramella, in *RIS* n. s. 13: 2, eds. gen. Giosue Carducci, Vittorio Fiorini, and Pietro Fedele (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1934), 3–31. The family constructed their ancestry from an Angelo, an alleged brother of Byzantine Emperor Justin II (565–578). On his possessions in Greece, see the extract of Niccolò's Letter to Angelo Soderini, in *RIS* n. s. 13: 2, 49. For more information on Niccolò's affairs in Greece, see Miller, *The Latins* 270–3; 290–1; *Id.*, "The Princes," 135–161; Longnon, *Empire Latin*, 323–5 and 328–331; Peter Topping, "Estates of Niccolò Acciaiuoli in Kefalonia," *Byzantion* 36: 2 (1966): 544–59. On the assets of the Certosa monastery, see Ferrante della Marra, *Discorsi delle famiglie estinte, forastiere, o non comprese ne' seggi di Napoli imparentate colla Casa della Marra* (Bologna: Forni, 1985. Reprint from Napoli: Beltrano, 1641), 9; Giovanni Leoncini, *Le certose della "Provincia Tusciae"*, vol. 1 in *Annalecta Cartusiana*, vol. 60 (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik Universität Salzburg, 1989), 108–14; Anthony T. Luttrell, "Το Βυζάντιο και οι Ιωαννίτες Ιππότες της Ρόδου (1306–1409)," *Σύμμεκτα* 11 (1997): 189–214. A common perception of Niccolò as Empress Catherine's lover comes from Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, 12, 75, 124–125 (ed. Dragomanni; web edition, Engl. transl. Selfe: <www.gutenberg.org/files/33022/33022-h/33022-h.htm#V_39> 09. 04. 2013). Cf. *Niccolò Acciaiuoli*, 23; 78–83, and *passim* for a most recent evaluation of Niccolò's life. On the Acciaiuoli family, see Curzio Ugurgieri Della Berardenga, *Gli Acciaiuoli di Firenze nella luce dei loro tempi* (1160–1834), 2 vols (Firenze: Olshci, 1962).

⁴¹ For Pietro's titles and functions see ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. nos. 8–13 (October 27, 1347, in Naples–October 30, 1347, in Naples), perg. no. 18 (October 21, 1364, in S. Angelo dei Lombardi); *I libri commemoriali della Repubblica di Venezia: Regesti*, ed. P. Predelli (Venezia: Deputazione veneta di storia patria: 1878), tome 2, liber 4, no. 370 (January 30, 1351), p. 188. For an assessment of Pietro's senior position, see Matteo Camera, *Elucubrazioni storico-diplomatiche su Giovanna I Regina di Napoli e Carlo III di*

Durazzo (Salerno: Tipografia nazionale, 1889), 253. A similar “pattern” of advancement (younger kinsmen being directed towards clergy and military) was recognized in the case of the Ruffo di Catanzaro family (they were related to the Tocco) as from Caridi, *La spada, la setta, la croce*, 11. For Ludovico Tocco, ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fol. 47r/v (July 27, 1344) (certified copy, June 1, 1695): “Iodovico de tocco militi delecto familiari et fideli nostro gratiam de fide, strenuitate, experientia et industria [...]”; *ibid.*, 51r/v/55r/v/44–45; *ibid.*, fol. 224v (January 10, 1345) (certified copy, June 8, 1695).

⁴² Gérard Dellile, *Famille et propriété dans le Royaume de Naples (XV–XIX s.)* (Rome–Paris: École française de Rome–Éditions de l’école des Hautes études en sciences sociales, 1985), 31; 35–9; 218; Benaiteau, *Vassali*, 61; Kelly, *The New Solomon*, 143. The family tradition referred to Leonardo with glorification, usually stressing his knightly features, for example, ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 6, 1, fols. 147r–149r; *ibid.*, 11, 6, 2, fol. 77r: “singolar valore, la grande autorezza.” For a modern, more critical assessment of Leonardo, see Nicol, *The Despotate*, 166. For a general account of the political situation in Leonardo’s surroundings, see F. Cognasso, *I Visconti* (Milano: Dall’Oglio, 1966); Paolo Colliva, *Il Cardinale Albornoz: Lo Stato della Chiesa. Les “Constitutiones Aegidianae” 1353–1357* (Bologna: Real Colegio de España, 1977).

⁴³ Scholars mostly agree that Leonardo’s government on the Ionian islands must have started during the first half of 1357. For a more detailed consideration on this chronology, see Appendix I, 175–6. For the chronology of his conquest of Leucas, see below n. 49. For a general guidance on the situation there, see Andreas Kiesewetter, “I Principi di Taranto e la Grecia,” 87, and Asonites, Το Νότιο, p. 121–5. On the title of Duke in Byzantium which was the basis for Leonardo’s title on Leukas, Jean Claude Cheynet, “Du stratège du thème au duc: Chronologie de l’évolution au cours du Xle siècle,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985): 181–94.

⁴⁴ Leonardo’s service to the Angevins at the time was recorded in ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 33, fols. 206r–211r (September 28, 1353). Leonardo’s loyalty to Pietro is hinted in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 1, part 1, page 307. Camera, *Elucubrazioni storico-diplomatiche*, 33 and Romanos, Γρατιανός Ζώρζης, 290, suggest that Leonardo was awarded with the islands for his participation in the Greek expedition of Prince/Emperor Robert during the 1340s. On this expedition, see Romolo Cagesse, *Roberto d’Angiò e i suoi tempi*, vol. 2 (Firenze, Bemporad, 1930), 305–6, 342–3; David Abulafia, “Venice and the Kingdom of Naples 1332–1343,” in *id.*, *Italy, Sicily*, no. XI. Blantès, ‘Η Λευκάς, 46, explains Leonardo’s power over the Heptanese as an usurpation. Cf. Asonites, Το Νότιο, 115. For Leonardo in the Popes’ communication to the local lords in 1362, ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 245, fols. 108r–113r. For the contacts between Leonardo and the Holy See in 1372, ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 268, fol. 88r, and *Lettres secrètes et curiales du pape Grégoire XI*, fasc. 1, no. 1172, p. 162. For the pontifical anti-Turkish activities of the time, see Freddy Thiriet, “Una proposta di lega antiturca tra Venezia, Genova e Bisanzio nel 1363,” *ASI* 113: 3 (1955): 321–4; Anthony T. Luttrell, “Gregory XI and the Turks: 1370–1378: With an Appendice on St. Catherine and the Hospitallers,” *OCP* 46 (1980): 391–417.

⁴⁵ Leonardo’s marriage with Magdalena was seen as the means of securing protection by Miller, *The Latins* 292; Maria Kolyva-Karaleka, “La penetrazione della Repubblica di Venezia nella contea palatina degli Orsini e nel ducato dei Tocco nelle isole Ionie,” *Italoellenika* 1 (1988) (=Atti del Convegno internazionale “Cento anni d’insegnamento di lingua e lette-

ratura greco-moderna nell'Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli 26–9 November 1984), 80. Some hints of Leonardo's involvement in the liberation of the Princes can be found in ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 15, (September 26, 1353, in Naples); perg. no. 16 (September 27, 1353, in Naples). Cf. ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 4, perg. no. 143 (October, 9, 1353), *ibid.*, perg. no. 145 (October 10, 1353). The resistance some Tocco gave to the Hungarian troops in Southern Italy was noted by Domenicus de Gravina, "Chronicon de rebus in Apulia gestis ab anno 1333 usque ad annum 1350," in *RIS*, vol. 12 (Milan: Typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1728), 585E and 714D; Nicolaus Specialis, "Libri VIII rerum Sicularum," in *RIS*, vol. 10, 1033D–1034A. The Tocco loyalty to the Neapolitan side in this Angevin dissension is confirmed in a document about a murder done by Pietro's familiars, see *Commemoriali*, t. 2, lib. 4, no. 431 (July 27, 1352?), p. 202, and *ibid.*, no. 432 of the same date. On the conflict between the 'Neapolitan' and 'Hungarian' Angevins see Alessandro Cutolo, "La questione ungherese a Napoli nel secolo XIV," *Corvina* 17 (1929): 131; Bálint Hóman, *Gli Angioini di Napoli in Ungheria 1290–1403* (Roma: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1938), 317–63; Kelly, *The New Solomon*, 275–83; Tocco, *Niccolò Acciaiuoli*, 93–6. For Niccolò's organization of his estate in Greece, see Topping, "Estates of Niccolò Acciaiuoli," 544–59.

⁴⁶ For a general introduction on Florentine marriage strategies at the time, see Geno Pampaloni, *Le nozze in vita privata a Firenze nei secc. XIV e XV* (Firenze: Olschi, 1966); Ch. Klapisch-Zuber, *La famiglia e le donne nel Rinascimento a Firenze* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1988); Patricia Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society 500–1200* (Harlow-New York: Longman, 2001), 132. The importance of the Buondelmonti in the political life of Florence during the thirteenth and fourteenth century (they were in the center of the initial clash between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines of 1216), was reported by Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, 5, 39, 219–220 (ed. Dragomanni); 8, 1, 5–7 (ed. Dragomanni). On them see Roberto Bizzocchi, "La dissoluzione di un clan familiare: i Buondelmonti di Firenze nei secoli XV e XVI," *ASI* 1 (1982): 3–45. On the Buondelmonti attachment to other prominent Florentine families, see the evidence referred by Roberto Ridolfi, *Gli Archivi delle famiglie fiorentine*, vol. 1 (Firenze: Olschi, 1934). For the Guelph ideology in medieval Florence, see Maria Corti, "Le fonti del fiore del virtù e la teoria della 'nobiltà nel duecento,'" *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 136 (1959): 1–82. More generally on the structures of medieval Florentine families, see R. S. Smith, "The People of Tuscany and their families in the fifteenth century: Medieval or Mediterranean," *Journal of family history* 6 (1981): 107–28; Carl Lansing, *The Florentine Magnates: Lineage and Faction in a Medieval Commune* (Princeton, NJ – Oxford: PUP, 1991). On the Acciaiuoli female marriages as a "corrective method of male orientation to war and politics" see Tocco, *Niccolò Acciaiuoli*, 300.

⁴⁷ An inventory composed in 1359 by Niccolò's sister, Leonardo's mother-in-law Lappa (Archivio di Stato di Firenze, *Certosa*, Cartaceo 1339, cassetta 3a), shows that the Acciaiuoli circle had the access to the most valuable classical and medieval works on rulership, philosophy and medicine, as well as to the latest popular works such as the *Decameron*. An illustrative example of Niccolò's lively connections with humanistic circles of the time emerges from Boccaccio's letter to him of 1341, in Giovanni Boccaccio, "Epistole," in *Tutte le opere di Giovanni Boccaccio*, vol. 5: 1 (Milano: Mondadori, 1992), 542–3, and *ibid.*, n. 1, 773–4. On the Acciaiuoli library see Sabbadini, "I libri del Gran Siniscalco Niccolò Acciaiuoli," *Il libro e la stampa*, n.s. 1 (1928): 456–70. A critical revision of Niccolò's attitude towards culture can be found in Sabatini, *Napoli Angioina*, 88; 129–30; Tocco, *Niccolò Acciaiuoli*,

357–65. A reference to Lappa's friendship with St. Bridget can be found in *Le carte strozziane del Archivio di Stato di Firenze: inventario*, ed. Cesare Guasti (Firenze: ASI, 1884), series prima, vol. 2, 749 (documenti vari, no. 4, a 16th c. copy, cc. 118 and 119) (Bridget's letter to Lappa, lost in World War II, and the "Memoria come Santa Brigida fù alloggiata in casa di M. Lappa"). One Bridget's book was kept around 1418 in the Certosa, as from Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, no. 987, 348 (March 5, c. 1418).

⁴⁸ Nicol, *The Despotate*, 107–157; Radivoj Radić, *Vreme Jovana V Paleologa 1332–1391* (The Epoch of John V Palaiologos 1332–1391) (Belgrade: Institute for Byzantine Studies of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1993), 164–304; Asonites, Το Νότιο, 114–34. Useful observations of the Catalan presence in Greece can be found in the edition *Els Catalans a Grecia: L'Avena*, of the *Rivista d'Història* 213 (1997).

⁴⁹ *Commemoriali*, t. 2, lib. 5, no. 235, (May 23, 1357), p. 263; *Commemoriali*, t. 2, lib. 6, no. 145, (August 24, 1359), p. 303; Ilias A. Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα (Athens: Μυρτίδη, 1960), vol. 2, 35. For a detailed account on the events on Leukas during the 1350s, Asonites, Το Νότιο, 117–121. On potential clashes that took place between the Venetians and Leonardo in the Ionian sea close to Zakynthos around the time he took Leukas, see *Commemoriali*, t. 2, lib. 6, no. 269 (September 20, 1361), p. 325. The Venetian attempts to buy Kefalonia and Zakynthos in this period were documented in Freddy Thiriet, *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, vol. 1 (Paris–The Hague: Mouton, 1958), 249 (September 23, 1350) and *ibid.*, 251 (January, 30, 1351). On this issue also see comments by Freddy Thiriet, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Âge* (Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome: Paris 1959), 357–8; Anthony T. Luttrell, "Vonitza in Epirus and Its Lords," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoelenici* 11 (n. s. 1) (1964): 135; Freddy Thiriet, "Les interventions vénitiennes dans les îles Ioniennes au XIV^e siècle" in Πρακτικά του τρίτου Πανιωνίου Συνεδρίου (23–29. IX 1965), vol. 1 (Athens: Εκατονταετής ενώσεως Επτανήσου, 1967), 374–85.

⁵⁰ *Commemoriali*, t. 2, lib. 6, no. 295 (February 19, 1361), p. 329. The charter was a *bolla d'oro*, ASVen, *Grazie*, 12, fol. 23r; ASVen., *Misti*, 41, fol. 126r (September 23, 1361). The Venetians referred to this grant on several occasions later, see Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 764 (December 30, 1389), 184, and *ibid.*, no. 829 (April 15, 1393), 197–8; *Commemoriali*, t. 3, lib. 9, no. 24 (May 25, 1396), p. 238. Authentic confirmations of the citizenship are found in ASVen, *Privilegi*, 1, fol. 118v (September 1, 1373) and on March 14, 1433 and January 3, 1458. On Petronella's marriage, see Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 515 (October 28, 1372), 129; Jacoby, *Les Assises*, document no. 2 (June 22, 1385), p. 316; Anthony T. Luttrell, "Aldobrando Baroncelli in Greece 1378–1383," *OCP* 36 (1970): 287.

⁵¹ At the time, Leonardo was explicitly mentioned also as the vassal of the Neapolitan Court by the "Table of the fiefs of the Morée," in Anthony T. Luttrell. "The Principality of Achaea in 1377," *BZ* 57 (1964): 340–5. For Mangnari's case see Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, 456 (March 29, 1368) and AAV 1: 1, n. 215, 195–6; ASVen, *Misti*, 32, f. 117. For other similar incidents between Leonardo and the Venetians, see Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 2, 107 (March 20, 1375) and Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, 138. For a reference to Leonardo's improper behavior towards another Venetian, *Gabriele Panada*, see AAV 1: 1, nos. 281–2, 260–2 (May 15 and 23, 1383), and *ibid.*, 1: 2, no. 342, 56–7; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 645, 157. For a more detailed consideration of Leonardo's relationship with Venice, Luttrell, "Vonitza," 139–40; Asonites, Το Νότιο, 131–3.

⁵² Nikolaos Foka-Kosmetatos, Το κάστρο Αγ. Γεωργίου Κεφαλληνίας: η παλαιά πρωτεύουσα της νήσου (Athens: Μακρής, 1966), 15, and 32–45; Topping, “Estates of Niccolò Acciaïoli,” 548, n. 77; 558. For the castle of St. Maure on Leukas, see Nikos Bagenas, Το κάστρο της Αγ. Μαύρας 1300–1977 (Athens: Δημοσία βιβλιοθήκη Λευκάδος, 2001), 48–57, and plates 2 and 3. For Leonardo’s letter of May 1374, see Luttrell, “Aldobrando,” 276 (May 28, 1374), and *MonPel.*, no. 14, 30–1. As reported by Cristoforo Buondelmonti, *Librum Insularum Archipelagi*, ed. L. de Sinner (Leipzig–Berlin: Reimer, 1824), 60, and *Description des îles de l’Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti: version grecque par un anonyme*, ed. É. Legrand (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1974, reprint of the 1897 edition), 1, pp. XII–XIII, both Leonardo and his wife Magdalena were buried in the family chapel on the island of Zakynthos (the chapel was destroyed in the earthquake of 1953). Leonardo was documented as selling his property in Naples, in ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta 4*, perg. no. 158 (July 19, 1379, in Naples) and *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia, busta 11*, 21, fols. 3r–v, where a “Giovannoto di Cicco di Tocco” mentions to have received one fifth of a shop in “platea butzarie” in Naples from Leonardo. As from ASN, ATM, *Titoli, onorificenze e nomine, busta 13*, fol. 84v (February 17, 1404, and September 12, 1404), Leonardo was mentioned as having had donated one of his castles to his fraternal nephew *Guillelmo*, the son of Pietro.

⁵³ For the social structure Leonardo found on the islands after the Orsini, see the Praktikon of the Latin Bishopric of Kefalonia, in MM, 5, no. 2 (July 12, 1262), 16–67, and Theseus Tzanetatos, “Το πρακτικόν τῆς Λατινικῆς Ἐπισκοπῆς Κεφαλληνίας τοῦ 1264 καὶ ἡ ἐπτομή αὐτοῦ,” in Πρακτικά του τρίτου Πανιωνίου Συνεδρίου (23–29 September 1965) vol. 1 (Athens: Ἐκατονταετής ἐνώσεως Ἑπτανήσου, 1967), 366–73. Generally on the situation in Latin Romania, Willi J. Eggeling, “Der Naturraum Südgriechenlands in seiner Bedeutung für die Ausprägung der Kulturlandschaft,” *Südostforschungen* 43 (1984): 1–20; David Jacoby, “Italian Migration and Settlement in Latin Greece: the Impact of Economy,” in *id.*, *Byzantium, Latin Romania and the Mediterranean* (Ashgate: Variorum, 2001), no. IX, pp. 45–127.

⁵⁴ For the religious situation in the region during the early Angevin period, cf. A. Papanikolaou, “The Latin Church and the Greek Orthodox Christians in Corfu during the first decades of the Angevin rule and the Creation of a Greek Orthodox Consciousness,” in *Identities in the Greek World* (Proceedings of the 4th European Congress of Modern Greek Studies, Granada: 9–12 September, 2010), ed. Konstantinos A. Dimadis, tome 3 (Athens: European Society of Modern Greek Studies, 2011), 675–685. For indications of a minor status the local Orthodox had during Leonardo I, see Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, 515 (October 28, 1372), 129, a Venetian answer to a letter sent by the Count of Kefalonia (reportedly dated August 24, 1372). For the situation during the Orsini, cf. PL 217 (11 Kalendae of June, 1212), colls. 586–7; Reg. Innocentii IV, vol. 3, n. 5858 (July 1, 1252), p. 88; *ibid.*, n. 6073 (October 10, 1252), p. 127, with Zakynthos remaining under the jurisdiction of the Latin bishopric in Corinth, PL 215, n. 127, 216, 589. The local onomastics, as from Demetrios S. Loukatos, “Θαλασσινές παραδόσεις στην Ἑπτάνησο,” in Πρακτικά του τρίτου Πανιωνίου Συνεδρίου (23–29 September 1965), vol. 2 (Athens: Ἐκατονταετής ἐνώσεως Ἑπτανήσου, 1969), 58–68, shows a general vagueness of the local memory about the Tocco presence in the region. The Orthodox clerics must have been banished before May 1365, as from MM, 1, no. 179, 413–15, and J. Darrouzès, ed., *Les Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1: *Les Actes des patriarches*, fasciculum 5: *Les Régestes*

de 1310 à 1376 (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1977), 2446, 213, 472, and *ibid.*, 2490. After the banishment, the episcopate of Leukas was subjected to the metropolis of Ioannina (founded in 1285, as from *MM*, 5, 84–7 ad ann. 1321). As from *MM*, 1, no. 235, 490–3, and Darrouzès, 1: 5, 2530, the transfer of the archbishopric from Ioannina to Naupaktos was ordered on July 1367. The disposition of this document openly mentioned the banishment: "ἀποδιωχθέντα δ' ἐκείθεν [i.e. the bishop from Leukas] παρὰ τῶν Ἰταλῶν." Also, see J. Darrouzès, *Les Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, 1: 5, 2490, and 2530; *Id.*, *Les Régestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. 1: *Les Actes des patriarches*. Fasciculum 6: *Les Régestes de 1377 à 1410* (Paris: Institut Français d'Études Byzantines, 1979), 2969. As from a letter of Innocent III to the Latin archbishop of Patras (Epist. Lib. 10, ep. 128, as from Panagiotes Hiotes, *Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα της νήσου Ζακύνθου* (Corfu: Κυβερνήσεως, 189), vol. 2, 621, in the case of Zakynthos, some religious troubles were recorded immediately after the Latin conquest of the island. In 1362, the Orthodox priests were banished also from Kefalonia. For the Orthodox bishop's (secret?) residence in the Temple of Virgin Mary in the village of Spanohori (Leukas) during his second sojourn, H. Soldatos, *Χριστιανική ζωγραφική: η μεταβυζαντινή και επτανησιακή τέχνη στις εκκλησίες και τα μοναστήρια της Λευκάδας (15–20ος αι.)* (Athens: Ἑταιρεία Λευκαδικῶν μελετῶν, 1999), 83–4; 357, and plate 394; 81–2, plates 13 and 14. On the *Frankoklisia*, *ibid.*, 402. On general trends of the Latin secular church in the region, Lock, *The Franks*, 217–21.

⁵⁵ Cf. Giuseppe Schirò, "Prolegomeni I," in *CroToC*, 11, to whom Leonardo's advancement on the islands was the primary consequence of his parallel connections with Naples, Popes and Venice.

Chapter II
FROM THE HEPTANESE
TO EPIROS
(c. 1375–c. 1429)

Tutrix, Balia et Aneynia

Leonardo I Tocco died some time after May 28, 1374.⁵⁶ The *Cronaca di Tocco di Cefalonia*, a fifteenth-century family narrative in Greek demotica verse, suggests that his death was premature and unexpected, adding that the domain was inherited by his eldest son Carlo, at the time just an infant. In the medieval world, where rulership was largely reserved for male adults of good birth and military strength, this situation could mean nothing but trouble.

Leonardo's death left the domain on the Ionian islands without a direct ruling force. Almost immediately, his family was challenged by events that took place in the neighborhood. Exactly around the time when Leonardo passed away, the Angevins in Naples, who were the family's chief suzerains, got involved in a family dissension over the succession to the throne which several of their branches equally claimed. The dispute eventually led to the dethronement of Queen Joanna I and her alleged murder in 1382, while the Kingdom, already considered 'decadent' in many aspects, plunged into a full decay. The Queen had no living offspring, so one of her potential heirs was her nephew of the Gravina–Durazzo Angevin branch, Charles III. His rights were contested by other relatives, namely Louis of Orleans, the relative of French king Charles VI (1380–1422), whom the Queen had originally appointed as her formal heir before she was dethroned. Then, there were the Angevins of Hungary who laid their claims to the Kingdom in Naples upon the principle of primogeniture that reserved the throne for the successors of King Charles Robert (1311–1342). Although the dispute was an internal family matter for the Angevins, it involved the highest instances of the European politics of the time, including the papacy, itself split between Pope Urban VI (1378–1389) and Antipope Clement VII (1378–1394). On another level, the Angevin family conflict provoked a revival of the ancient enmities between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, with Charles III siding with Guelph-oriented Pope Urban VI, and the Hungarian branch favoring the

'Ghibelline' Antipope elected by the French Cardinals. The struggle, then, mobilized the nobility of the Italian South, who themselves had already been mutually divided and stood once again on the verge of a bloody conflict.⁵⁷

Traditionally, the Neapolitan Tocco favored the Guelph 'cause.' In the context of the late 1370s, this meant that they sided with the 'Italian' Angevin branch led by King Charles III and supported by Pope Urban VI.⁵⁸ Thus, when Charles of Durazzo suffered a setback from his French rival Louis, the entire Tocco kindred – both the branches in Naples and on the Heptanese – felt the consequences. Their insular domain in Greece, now governed by Leonardo's widow Magdalena Buondelmonti, was attacked by Jacques de Baux, an ardent supporter of King Louis in Naples, whom the latter invested with the Principality of Achaia in return for his loyalty. To enact his rights, De Baux needed some additional military help and he found it in the Navarrese company. This group, or better to say, several groups of skilled warriors of various ethnical backgrounds, came to the Balkans from the distant Pyrenees in the late 1360s. Lead by Louis d'Evreux, the brother of Charles II of Navarre, who claimed the Duchy of Durazzo through his marriage with Joanna, the grand-daughter of John of Gravina, the Navarrese were first seen as most useful allies to the Latin lords. In 1379 or early 1380, their victory over the Catalans of Attica and Beotia greatly helped Magdalena's Florentine relative Nerio Acciaiuoli gain the cities of Athens and Thebes. The situation, however, changed when the Navarrese turned against their original Latin partners and allied with de Baux. A letter by a Florentine client of the Acciaiuoli, Aldobrando Baroncelli, dated July 12 1382, mentions that the Tocco were among those most gravely affected by this twist, with their domain suffering a serious devastation by the Navarrese groups.⁵⁹ At the peak of the Navarrese offensive some time before February 1383, de Baux conceded the county of Kefalonia to his supporter John Laskaris Kalopheros. Soon afterwards, but before August 22 1383, Leonardo's widow and children were declared traitors by King Louis in Naples. The King in Naples had special plans with the Tocco domain and he ordered its confiscation for his favorites, the Ligurian Grimaldi family who nowadays rule Monaco. Fortunately for Magdalena and her children, none of these plans were enacted because their royal protector, Charles III (1382–1386), soon dethroned King Louis.⁶⁰

The sound of the Angevin dissensions in Naples may have been threatening, but it was only a part of a much greater noise of arms the Tocco could hear from their immediate neighborhood. Having defeated

the Christians on the Maritsa (Evros, Hebrus) river in 1371, the Ottomans were preparing their permanent installation in the Balkans. In the decade that followed their victory in Bulgaria, they continued to defeat the local lordships further southwest. In 1385 they reached Albania following the battle at Saura against Carlo Thopia; in 1387 fell northern Greece with Thessaloniki; in 1389 they clashed with the Serbs at Kosovo Polje. The Byzantine Empire was torn by the internal war between Emperor John V and his grandson John VII, while its satellite, the Despotate of Morea, expanded across the Peloponnese independently from Constantinople. On top of all this, just across a small sea passage that divided the Tocco insular domain from the mainland, Leonardo's heirs could frequently watch Albanian groups attacking Akarnania and Aetolia.⁶¹

"And then started a series of sporadic and short attacks by Albanians, an Illyrian and peasant nation; they are nomadic and miserable people, with no town or fortress, village, land or vineyard, they live wandering across the mountains and fields." This is how an anonymous Greek fragment described the initial Albanian attacks on the Tocco islands around the beginning of the 1380s. These attacks were similarly accounted in two other narratives, the anonymous Tocco Chronicle and the Historical demonstrations by Greek Laonikos Chalkokondyles. All the three narratives date from a period subsequent to Magdalena's regency and the Albanian raids they mentioned, so it is impossible to verify with certainty the details of their references to these incursions. First, the attacks left no reliable trace in rare documents of Magdalena's administration, and it is quite probable that the narrative 'descriptions' of these events we know today, actually, fused the references to several separate offensives on the Tocco territory, which, altogether, might have lasted for some thirty years. Then, narrating about the Albanians all the three sources project a negative stereotype of the Other, which means that their accounts should be suspected not just for the chronology, but also for a distorted image on the subjects of their writings.⁶² Finally, the narratives' low level of reliability in reporting the Albanian attacks to the Tocco domain left its trace in the modern historical assessments that sometimes largely differ in chronology, frequency, direction or identity of the Tocco Albanian enemies.⁶³

Apart from the Albanian kindreds, Magdalena Buondelmonti encountered a serious enemy in the Venetian Republic. According to the *Signoria* authorities, it was Magdalena who stood behind the deterioration of their relationships. On May 15, 1383, the Venetian instruction to their Captain of the Sea lamented about some "new practices" the *Comitissa* (Magdalena)

had introduced. These practices were reportedly against the Venetian “honor and old customs” as they required the payment of a naval tax of four *hyperpera* imposed on every ship sailing by Leukas in any direction. The Venetian instruction also mentions that the situation was additionally aggravated by the Tocco vicar of the fortress of St. Maure (Leukas) who, apart from Magdalena’s tax, imposed an extra five *hyperpera* just for himself. These accusations against the widow and her men were further fueled by Magdalena’s alleged unwillingness to resolve the case of Georgios Panada, a Venetian merchant who had lent a sum of money to her husband and had never paid it back. The existing documents on Magdalena’s activities do not reveal what her own perception of these disputes was, but there are several indications that the Venetian accusations might have been exaggerated. One of them is the fact that Panada’s case was solved quite soon after the Venetian authorities wrote to Magdalena about it, which means that her interest, at the time, was to resolve the disputes rather than create further tensions.⁶⁴ Then, the first diplomatic address made independently by Magdalena’s son Carlo to the Venetians in 1391 openly mentioned that during Magdalena’s regency it was the Venetians of Corfu who would usually start these hostilities first, by continuously attacking the family’s domain, capturing their dependants, or openly supporting the Albanians who occasionally raided the Tocco domain. The refusal of the Venetian authorities to ban their own *de iure* rights to the tax of the St. Maure *pedagium* – according to them it belonged to their family of the Zorzes – brings in the conclusion that their accusations against Magdalena Buondelmonti might have had in the background the *Signoria*’s hidden intentions to re-establish the Venetian Republic on the Tocco islands.⁶⁵

The administration of the family domain by Leonardo’s widow is not a new practice in the medieval rulership. However, given all the troubles she faced in doing this, there is no wonder why her regency was especially appreciated by the family memory. Apart from her personal capacities, an explanation for such a capability should be sought in Magdalena’s origin in Florence Guelpha, the environment renown for the pro-activity of its women in public government practices.⁶⁶

As the Tocco domain in Greece was unstable after the death of her husband, Magdalena had to additionally secure her regency. In her situation, the best way to do so was to establish strong alliances. The first such link Magdalena created was with her own family. Magdalena kept particularly good relations with her brother Esaù, who himself laid his own

aspirations in Greece. Before he established himself in Epiros' center Ioannina by marrying the widow of Despot Thomas Preljubović (1384?), Esaù was a frequent visitor to his sister's domain and his presence there directly enhanced Magdalena's relationships with other Florentine magnates. Several other relatives from Florence, namely Lorenzo, Donato, Jacopo, and Angelo Acciaiuoli also followed Esaù's example. The correspondence of Aldobrando Baroncelli reveals that Magdalena's second brother Lorenzo, the knight of the Order of St. John (Hospitallers), advised her about the regional affairs on several occasions, while Baroncelli's acquisition and expenditure lists show that Magdalena could also count on her kin in trading and financial issues.⁶⁷

Apart from enabling her immediate political, advisory and economic support, Magdalena's relatives of Florence brought her into a closer contact with the military Order of St. John (Hospitallers), which, consequently, strengthened the Tocco connections with the pontifical See. In the summer of 1376, the Hospitallers leased the Principality of Achaëa from Queen Joanna I for five years; the leader of this group, Juan Fernández de Heredia, was the protégé of Pope Gregory XI (1370–1378). In order to secure their position in Achaëa, where from a Crusade against the 'Turks' was planned, the Hospitallers also leased in this period – or, perhaps exchanged for something, as suggested by Anthony T. Luttrell – the town of Vonitsa from Magdalena Tocco. The transaction was mediated by Magdalena's brothers Esaù and Francesco, but the terms of this exchange are not entirely known today. Located in the gulf of Ambrakia, Vonitsa strategically safe-guarded the Tocco domain from a potential attack from the mainland. Living under constant Albanian attacks and Venetian menaces, Magdalena must have seen the Hospitallers' attention to this town as a significant promise. And a protection this was – but only at the beginning. In August 1378, Heredia and his men confronted the Albanians of the Spata clan in the Tocco neighborhood. Their actions, however, did not yield any particular success, and ultimately resulted in a disaster, with Heredia being captured by the Spata and released only in spring 1379.⁶⁸

The described course of events took Heredia away from the pontifical favor and, consequently, prompted the loss of the Order's influence in Epiros. For Magdalena, such an outcome required another powerful protector and she found this in the Republic of Genoa. Freddy Thiriet suggests that the Tocco–Genoese alliance negotiations might have started as early as 1388, with the final agreement stipulated as the grant of the Genoese citizenship to Magdalena and Carlo Tocco on December 2, 1389.

Due to Carlo's young age, the ratification of the grant was postponed until October 7, 1390.⁶⁹ To date, the act of ratification of the Genoese citizenship to the Tocco has been considered the only remaining piece of evidence about this Tocco alliance. Its text, however, only briefly confirms the general nature of the agreement, and gives no particular political reason about this alliance, which has prompted a variety of modern interpretations. Based upon the ratification chronology of this act (October 1390), Charalambos Gasparis assumed that the alliance was a consequence of multiple Albanian raids on the Tocco territory during the 1380s. Spyros Asonites, on the other hand, suggested it was devised to protect the Tocco, as well as the Genoese interests in the region, first and foremost from the Venetians, while the lack of the evidence about the pact's enactment opens up another possibility, that the Tocco, missing the stability of their chief suzerain in Naples, turned to the Genoese in order to secure a more general support.⁷⁰

Less than three years after the ratification of the pact with the Republic of Genoa, Magdalena's son was recorded as attempting to gain the favor of the Venetians. Such a turn indicates that the attachment to the Genoese did not bring any particular relief to the Tocco, so Magdalena, obviously aware of this outcome, searched for other alliances. One of these was facilitated by the marriage she arranged for her eldest son Carlo with Francesca, the younger daughter of her relative Nerio Acciaiuoli. Nerio was a distant Tocco kinsman adopted by Magdalena's maternal uncle Niccolò. Partly because of this adoption, partly because of the relationship Nerio had built with Niccolò's son and heir Angelo, this lord eventually came into the possession of most of Niccolò's domains in Greece, a significant part of which was located within the Angevin Principality of Achaea. From 1388, Nerio was a *de facto* master of the Duchy of Athens and Thebes, which King Ladislas of Naples (1386–1414) confirmed to him in 1394. Nerio had no legitimate sons, and it was expectable that Francesca would inherit a considerable portion of his possessions. Thus to Magdalena, this marriage represented the opportunity to secure the family domain not just on the Ionian islands, but to even expand it further, towards the Peloponnese and Attica.⁷¹

The canonic regulation of medieval marriages tells us that the alliance between Carlo and Francesca was incestuous because they were related in blood. This fact, however, does not seem to have disturbed any of the direct participants in this relation, and Nerio's last will, dated September 17, 1394, highlights the benefits for which this conjugal liaison was, in fact,

a match gladly accepted by the Acciaiuoli. According to this document, Francesca was designated as the only heiress of the Acciaiuoli domain in Greece, receiving the castles of Megara and Vasilikata (Basilicata), the custody over the town of Corinth, and a remarkable treasury. With Carlo as her husband, the entire Nerio's domain could remain within the family.⁷²

Just like other political aspects of Magdalena's regency, the marriage she arranged for her eldest son was variously assessed by modern scholarship. The nineteenth-century historians were largely unaware of Francesca's personal name and perceived her as 'Carlo's second wife.' Several recent documentary editions published by Julian Chrysostomides, Chryssa Maltezou, and Giuseppe Valentini, however, inform us that the marriage was concluded between 1388 and 1393, and that the references to Carlo's wives other than Francesca were either a confusion with several other Tocco alliances or with the marriages of their neighbors.⁷³

Sometime around her son's maturity, most probably in, or not long after autumn 1390, Magdalena resigned from her regency. Her power over the Tocco domain in Greece started in an extremely difficult moment, but despite all the hardships she faced, she successfully kept the domain almost intact for her son. What happened to Magdalena after she handed it to the legitimate heir, is, like many other matters of her regency, not fully clear. Christophoro Buondelmonti, one of her Florentine relatives who visited the islands during the second decade of the fifteenth century, wrote that she retired to Zakynthos where she remained until her death (around 1401), and where she was buried in the family chapel of Christ the Redeemer.⁷⁴ Donald Nicol proposed a possibility that in the years that followed the marriage of her son with Francesca Acciaiuoli, Magdalena was 'upstaged' by her daughter-in-law, but there is no open documentary confirmation for such a conclusion. In fact, what is documented is that during the last years of her life, Magdalena entered a dispute with her son Carlo. By 1391, this conflict deepened to such an extent that Magdalena turned for help to her ancient enemies, the Venetians. Imploring them to intervene in her favor and give her shelter as she was obviously preparing to flee her son's grip, Magdalena complained about being badly treated by him ("male, imo pessimo, tractatur"). A document issued by King Ladislas (*ad ann.* 1398/99) mentioning that Carlo had usurped Magdalena's dowry rights ("iura dotalia") and was reluctant to return them, suggests that the dispute was provoked by the son's rupture of the established family distribution practice – one would say, far from the gratefulness he should have shown for his mother's governing efforts.⁷⁵

⁵⁶ *CroToc*, book 1, chapter 1, verses 4–7, p. 220. Up to date, there is no detailed primary evidence on the exact date or cause of Leonardo's death. More on this, see *Appendix I*, 177.

⁵⁷ Léonard, *Les Angevins*, 446–9; Sabatini, *Napoli Angioina*, 149–50; F. R. Moore, *Historical Life of Joanna of Sicily, Queen of Naples and Countess of Provence* vol. 1 (n. p.: Kessinger Publishing, 2006), 277–300.

⁵⁸ Guillelmo, fraternal nephew of Leonardo, served in the entourage of Charles III, see “*Diaria Neapoletana ab anno MCCLXVI usque ad ann. MCDLXXVIII*,” in *RIS*, vol. 21 (Milano: Typographia Societatis Palatinae, 1732), 1049E (April 4, 1383). For the loyalty of the Neapolitan Tocco to Charles III, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta 4*, perg. no. 162 (August 12, 1383 in Naples), in which Charles III conceded the domain of Montemiletto and the *casale Cerreto* to *Magnifico homo Guillelmo di Tocco* (the son of Leonardo's brother Pietro). For other south-Italian families related to the Tocco who were also supported King Charles III, see Caridi, *La spada, la setta, la croce*, 17–19. On the interest of de Baux family, see Gustave Noblemaire, *Histoire de la maison des Baux* (Paris: Champion, 1913; reprint, Marseille: Laffitte, 1976), 66–7. Jacques de Baux died on July 7, 1383, and his cousin, Louis I of Anjou, took over his claims to the Principality of Achaëa and the title of the Latin Emperor.

⁵⁹ Aldobrando Baroncelli was a Florentine in the service of Lorenzo Acciaiuoli. For his direct connection with the Hospitallers, see Anthony T. Luttrell, “Interessi fiorentini nell'economia e nella politica dei Cavalieri Ospedalieri di Rodi nel Trecento,” *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Lettere, Storia e Filosofia*, 2nd series, no. 27 (1959): 324. On his diplomatic role in Magdalena's contacts with the Acciaiuoli, see Luttrell, “Aldobrando,” letter no. 4 (July 12, 1382), (to Lorenzo Acciaiuoli), cap. 2, p. 298 and *ibid.*, letter no. 3 (June 15, 1382), (to Lorenzo Acciaiuoli), cap. 2, p. 296, recently published in *MonPel.*, no. 20, 43–4 dated to July 27, and, no. 19, 42. Unpleasant situation of the Tocco domain caused by the turn of the Navarrese was also mentioned in Luttrell, “Aldobrando,” letter no. 2 (April 24, 1382) (to Lorenzo Acciaiuoli), cap. 2, p. 293, also in *MonPel.*, no. 18, 40–1.

⁶⁰ The reference to this in Luttrell, “Aldobrando,” letter no. 4, note ad cap. 1, p. 299. Longnon, *Empire Latin*, 335–6; 340–1. On John Lascaris Kalopheros, David Jacoby, “Jean Lascaris Calopheros, Chypre et la Morée,” *Revue des études byzantines* 26 (1968): 189–228; Ambrosius K. Eszer, *Das abenteuerliche Leben des Johannes Laskaris Kalopheros: Forschungen zur Geschichte der ost-westlichen Beziehungen im 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969), *passim*; Bariša Krekić, “Prilog biografiji Johannes-a Laskaris-a Kalopheros-a” (A contribution to the biography of John Laskaris Kalopheros), *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu* 12:1 (1974): 405–14. On Louis' plans to invest the Grimaldi with the Tocco domain, see Gustave Saige, *Documents historiques antérieurs au quinzième siècle relatifs à la Seigneurie de Monaco et à la maison de Grimaldi* (Monaco: Imprimerie du gouvernement, 1905), vol. 1, 505–10.

⁶¹ For the chronology of the Ottoman advancement in the region with a detailed reference to the earlier historiography (e.g. F. Babinger on their relations with the Tocco), see Elizabeth Zachariadou, “Marginalia on the History of Epirus and Albania (1380–1418),” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 78 (1988): 195–210. For a general review of the Ottoman advance across the Balkans, see Machiel Kiel, “The Incorporation of the Balkans into the Ottoman Empire 1353–1453,” in *The Cambridge History of Turkey*, vol. 1, ed. Kate Fleet (Cambridge: CUP, 2009), 138–191. For Albanian raids documented in Epiros since

the 1360s, see the reference in Jean Longnon and Peter Topping, eds. *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle* (Paris–The Hague: Mouton, 1969), no. 8 (January, 1361), pp. 154–5 (with a detailed commentary on the document's chronology, p. 144).

⁶² I. K. Bogiatzides, “Συμβολή εἰς τὴν μεσαιωνικὴν ἱστορίαν τῆς Ἠπείρου,” *Ἡπιοτικά χρονικά* 1 (1926): 79. On the identity of the author of this fragment (Isidore of Kiev?), see Giorgio Mercati, *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno (Studi e Testi 46)* (Rome: Bibliotheca apostolica Vaticana, 1926), 6–7; *CroToc*, 1, 4, 45–56, 222–4; Chalkokondyles, book 4, ed. Bonn, p. 210, and ed. Darkó, vol. 1, p. 198. Chalkokondyles, book 4, ed. Bonn, pp. 209–11, and ed. Darkó, vol. 1, pp. 197–9, gives no clear reference to the chronology of the Albanian incursion. Albanian offensives contemporary to Magdalena's regency are recorded in close to the Tocco domain (Ioannina), in *Croloan*, chapter 18, page 87 (before and after February 26, 1377); 29, 94 (December–January 1384); 32, 96 (before 1386); 34, 97–8 (after March 21, 1389–before December 4, 1390). The chronology of these raids was debated by Zachariadou, “Marginalia,” 195–210; Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 131, and *ibid.*, n. 3.

⁶³ Hopf, GG, 2, 37. Cf. Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 27; *Id.*, “Il Ducato di Leucade e Venezia fra il XIV e XV secolo,” *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti: Classe di scienze morali, lettere ed arti* 132 (1973–4): 597. Cf. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 161–4. Cf. Charalambos Gasparis, “Il patto di Carlo I Tocco con il Comune di Genova (1389–1390): una conseguenza delle incursioni albanesi,” in *Οἱ Ἀλβανοὶ στο Μεσαίωνα: The Mediaeval Albanians* (Athens: Institute for Byzantine Research – International Symposium 5, 1998), 249–57.

⁶⁴ Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 645 (May 15, 1383), 157; AAV 1: 2, 280–1. This view was accepted by Thiriet, *La Roumanie*, 358. A similar hint can be found in Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 782 (December 12, 1390), 188, where the authorities of the *Signoria* indicated that the right to this tax belonged to their subject, Gratianos Zorzes, who had been granted it by the “Duke of Athens” (Walter II de Brienne); Asonites, *Τὸ Νότιο*, 141. For the solution of the case, see AAV 1: 1 (May 23, 1383), 282. Given the complex political constellation in the wider region caused by the Angevin inheritance dispute, it may have easily happened that Magdalena's difficulties with the Venetians were the reflection of her loyalty to King Charles III and the Venetian support of his Hungarian rival.

⁶⁵ For Carlo's correspondence, Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 782 (December 12, 1390), 188; AAV 1: 2, no. 407, 112–14.

⁶⁶ *CroToc*, 1, 9–11, 115–148, 228–30. Longnon – Topping, *Documents*, no. 10, p. 197, n. 11, wrongly noted that Magdalena was the regent on behalf of her son Leonardo II. An order of Charles III of Naples issued to his *iudex* of Naples, Leonardo Viola, on March 24, 1382 ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fols. 10r–11r (13v–14r) (as from a copy certified June 8, 1695) (the document was known to a family historian in ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, fol. 3v), refers to Magdalena's regency as an act “secundum usum et consuetudinem partium Romaniae.” Cf. *CroMor*, 161; 337; 3338; 4691. Sansari-dou–Hendrickx, “The World View of the Anonymous Chronicle of the Tocco [...]: Women and Gender,” 244. For Magdalena's identification through her Florentine kin and place of birth, see ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fols. 10r–11r (13v–14r), (“Magdalena de Buondelmontis de Florentia”); A letter in Raymond Joseph Loenertz, “Hospitaliers et Navarrais en Grèce: 1376–1383,” in Raymond Joseph Loenertz, *Byzantina et Franco-Graeca* (Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1970), *regestum* no. 28 (April 30, 1381) (letter of

King Peter IV to his *vicarius generalis* of Greece), paragraph 9, p. 346. On the Florentine political culture, see Edward Peters, "Pars, Parte: Dante and Urban Contribution to Political Thought," in *The Medieval City*, ed. Harry A. Miskimin, David Herlihy and A. L. Udovitch (New Heaven–London: Yale University Press, 1977), 124–6. On the education of women in Florence, see P. F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning 1300–1600* (Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins Press, 1989), 90; Luisa Miglio, "Leggere e scrivere il volgare. Sull'alfabetismo delle donne nella Toscana Tardo medievale," in *Civiltà comunale: libro, scrittura, document: atti del convegno, Genova 8–11 novembre 1988*, *Società ligure di Storia Patria* 1989 (= *Atti della Società ligure di Storia Patria*): 357–383. For some medieval examples of the female comital rulership, see Thérèse de Hemptinne, "Women as Mediators Between the Powers of Comitatus and Sacerdotium: Two Countesses of Flanders in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in Martin Gosmann, Arjo Vanderjagt, Jan Veenstra, *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West: Selected Proceedings of the International Conference Groningen (20–23 November 1996)* (Groningen: Forsten, 1997), 287–99. Jennifer C. Ward, "Noblewomen, Family, and Identity in Later Medieval Europe," in Anne J. Duggan, ed., *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe: Concepts, Origins, Transformations* (Suffolk: Woodbrigde, 2000), 245–62. Chrysostomides, "Italian Women," 120, noted Magdalena's adoptability to the circumstances unusual for her original environment.

⁶⁷ For Esaù's activities with the Navarrese, see Anthony T. Luttrell, "Interessi fiorentini nell'economia e nella politica dei Cavalieri Ospedalieri di Rodi nel Trecento," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Lettere, Storia e Filosofia* 2: 27 (1959): 323–4 (second edition in A. T. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440* (London: Variorum, 1978, no. VIII). Esaù was described by the *Croloan*, 31, 95, ln. 12 as "φιλόχριστος." The same term was used for him by Ducae Micaelis Ducae Nepotis *Historia politica et patriarchica Constantinopoleos; Epirotica*, in CSHB, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn: Weber, 1849), fr. 2, p. 231, ln. 25–p. 232, ln. 1. *ibid.*, p. 231, ln. 17–p. 232, ln. 13, which suggests Esaù's popularity in some circles of the local population; similarly, Chalkokondyles, book 4, ed. Bonn, p. 211, and ed. Darkó, vol. 1, p. 198. For the examples of Magdalena's connections with her family and other compatriots in Florence see Magdalena's letter to Donato Acciaiuoli (March 13, 1388), in Ferdinand Gregorovius, "Briefe aus der 'Corrispondenza Acciajoli' in der Laurenziana zu Florenz," *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-philologischen und historischen Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 2: 1 (1890): 303–5; Ida Giovanna Rao, ed., *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana di Firenze* (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato–Libreria dello Stato, 1996), no. 177, p. 101 (letter by Aldobrando Baroncelli to Lorenzo Acciaiuoli, December 15, 1380 in Kyrene); *ibid.*, no. 753, 282 (letter by Giovanni Biliotti to Donato Acciaiuoli di Iacopo, 391); *ibid.*, no. 807, 297 (an autograph letter by Sigismonda, the wife of Jacobo Acciaiuoli di Iacopo of Florence, 1393); Luttrell, "Aldobrando," letter no. 2, chapt. 1, p. 292; *MonPel.*, no. 18, p. 40.4, caps. 3 and 5, 297–8, and *MonPel.*, no. 20, 43–4; no. 40, 89; Luttrell, "Aldobrando," letter no. 2, chapt. 1, p. 292; Longnon –Topping, Documents, no. 12 (Quaderno dell'entrata de chasali di Romania di monsignore Lorenzo Acciaiuoli [November–December 1379]), p. 213, lns. 22–4; 214; 215. Luttrell, "Interessi fiorentini," 323–4, and *id.*, "The Hospitallers at Rhodes: 1306–1421," in *A History of the Crusades*, editor-in-chief, Kenneth Meyer Setton, vol. 3, ed. H. W. Hazard. Madison (Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1975), 302.

⁶⁸ The date as from Lock, *The Franks*, 132; Luttrell, “Interessi fiorentini,” 323; *Id.*, “Gregory XI and the Turks,” 412; *Id.*, “Το Βυζάντιο και οι Ιωαννίτες Ιππότες της Ρόδου,” 199; *Id.*, “Aragonese Chronicle of the Morea,” at <www.xoan.net/morea>. 08.14.2013. On Magdalena’s connections, see Luttrell, “Gregory XI and the Turks,” 415–17. Asonites, Το Νότιο, 134–8. About the Hospitallers in Greece, Anthony T. Luttrell, “The Hospitallers at Rhodes,” in *Id.*, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440* (London: Variorum, 1978), 302–3; Anthony T. Luttrell, *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades: 1291–1421* (London: Variorum, 1982). On the conditions of the transaction between the Hospitallers and Magdalena, see Luttrell, “Interessi fiorentini,” 323, n. 2 (as from *Reg. Aven.* 201, fols. 238r–v [October 8, 1377]). A reference on the connection of the Buondelmonti brothers with the Hospitallers can be found in Luttrell, “Interessi fiorentini,” 323, n. 1 (as from *Reg. Aven.* 201, fols. 314r–v [August 1, 1377] and fol. 113r [August 25, 1377]). For a reference on the Italian origin of several Hospitallers in Heredia’s entourage, Luttrell, “The Hospitallers of Rhodes: 1377–1384,” (London: Ashgate Variorum, 1978), no. XXIII, 35. For the Hospitallers’ relations with the Pope in this period, see Luttrell, “Interessi fiorentini,” 323, n. 7 (as from *Reg. Aven.* 201, fol. 232r [September 29, 1377]). For a more detailed comment of the date and nature of the Hospitallers’ unsuccessful campaign against the Albanians, Luttrell, “The Hospitallers at Rhodes,” 302–3; *Id.*, “Gregory XI and the Turks,” 413, n. 88.

⁶⁹ Gasparis, “Il patto” : 252–3. (“requisitione facta per dictum Jordanum Ambassiatoorem et nuncium Magnifice et potentis domine domine Magdalena genitricis praefati Magnifici domini karoli ducisse luchate et comitisse cephalonie palatine”).

⁷⁰ Cf. Thiriet, *La Romanie*, 358; Gasparis, “Il patto,” 250; Asonites, Το Νότιο, 141–6. The third option suggested by Nada Zečević, “The Genoese Citizenship of Carlo I Tocco of December 2, 1389 (I),” *ZRVI* 41 (2005): 368–70.

⁷¹ *Commemoriali*, t. 3, lib. 8, no. 387 (January 9 of the first indiction, 1393), p. 218. Carlo’s ambassador on this occasion was a *Ciccarelo Giovine di Napoli*; *ibid.*, 388, s.d. (1393, January), c. 166 (168). For Nerio’s heirs, see Kolyva-Karaleka, “La penetrazione,” 80; Chrysostomides, “Italian Women,” 122, n. 30. Nerio’s illegitimate son, Antonio, whom he had with Maria de Rendis, did inherit a portion of Nerio’s domain (Lebadia in Beotia) despite his illicit status. On Nerio’s rule in Greece, D. K. Giannakopoulos, Δουκάτο τῶν Ἀθηνῶν. Ἡ κυριαρχία τῶν Acciauli (Thessaloniki: BANIAS, 2006).

⁷² Most recently, the last will of Nerio Acciauli (September 17, 1394), *MonPel.*, no. 160, 312–318. For the possessions it listed, cf. the inventory from ASVen, *Lettere di Rettori*, no. 161 (*Inventario dei beni mobili ed immobili di Rainerio Acciauli*). Given the quantity and quality of these possessions, Nicol, *The Despotate*, 169, qualified Carlo’s marriage with Francesca as a “marriage with money.”

⁷³ Mavro Orbini, *Il Regno degli Slavi hoggi corrotamente detti Schiavoni* [...], translation into Serbo-Croat Zdravko Šundrica (Belgrade: SKZ, 1968), 65; Blantès, Ἡ Λευκὰς, 59. *MonPel.*, no. 120 ([1393] March 25), 231. *Eadem*, “Italian Women,” 127, proposing as the date of the marriage conclusion some short time before March 25, 1393.

⁷⁴ Buondelmonti, *Description des des Îles de l’Archipel*, pp. XII–XIII, 12.

⁷⁵ Schirò, "Il Ducato," 600; Chrysostomides, "Italian Women," 126; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 168. This assumption seems well confirmed by ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, 48, fols. 33r–36v/37r–40v, (April 1, 1400) (certified copy, June 1, 1695), fol. 99r, ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fols. 37r–v (41r–v) (April 2, 1400, certified copy June 1, 1695), and ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fol. 34r, where Magdalena complained about being badly treated by her elder son whom she also accused of attempting to deprive her from her dowry rights. Also, Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 803 (September 7, 1391), 192 and AAV 1: 2, no. 428, 127–8. Cf. Benaiteau, "Una famiglia," 24, who considers that Magdalena actively assisted Carlo in government until 1401. The precise content of Magdalena's *iura dotalia* mentioned in her laments to the Venetians is not known. The facts that her maternal uncle Niccolò Acciaiuoli possessed some land on Kefalonia, and that some of this land (*Palichi*) was mentioned as a *duarium* given later to some other women married to the Tocco (see Nada Zečević, "Prvi brak despota Leonarda III Toko [The first marriage of Despot Leonardo III Tocco]," *ZRVI* 43 (2006): 160–1, n. 28) might suggest that this place, or some other parts of Kefalonia too were the part of a regular family dower (in Magdalena's case, perhaps her dowry as well given the possessions her uncle had on this island). Cf. David Jacoby, "Les archonts grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque," *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967): 447. For an active position of the Florentine women with regard to their dowries, see Bizzochi, "La disoluzione," 28.

Comes et dux

At the beginning of his sole rule, Carlo I Tocco could not be aware of the long duration, dynamics, and change it would bring to the kindred and the region he governed. This, of course, does not mean he was unprepared for a turbulent life, and the Tocco chronicle describes him as an energetic young man, determined to restore his domain to the glory of the olden times. This description of the family narrative is confirmed by the Venetian documents which attest that their early contacts with Carlo were initiated by the young Tocco lord almost immediately upon his maturity (December 12, 1390). The Venetian response to him was cold and patronizing in tone, indicating that Carlo had yet to learn the skills of diplomatic communication, but this still did not eliminate the fact that Carlo was working seriously on the restauration of his relationship with the Republic of St. Mark after his mother's alliance with the Genoese proved futile.⁷⁶

Carlo's restoration to the favor of the Venetians was, by no means, an easy or quick process. Altogether, it took him more than two years before he received the first reliable signs of the Venetian willingness to fully consider reconciliation, and his citizenship in Genoa, even though a fictive one, must have been a significant impediment. But Carlo was persistent and the evidence of the above-mentioned communication shows that his strong determination stemmed from two special and urgent reasons. The first one was his desire to revive the economic stability of his domain, while the second, an even more important one, was to gain the Venetian neutrality for a war he was planning against the Albanians in the neighborhood.⁷⁷ During the regency of Carlo's mother, the Albanians from the mainland stood frequently at the gates of the Tocco insular domain, and Carlo's intention to attack them must have, at least in part, been due to his desire to revenge. All these plans, however, had to be postponed for almost a decade because a series of events which followed the death of Carlo's father-in-law, Nerio Acciaiuoli (September 25, 1394) turned Carlo to a totally different direction.

To date, the course of these events has been largely analyzed by modern scholars.⁷⁸ In brief, a few days before his death, Carlo's father-in-law made his last will in Corinth (September 17, 1394). Contrary to some family expectations, as well as to the inheritance practice of the Latin *Romania*, Nerio left all of his possessions to his junior daughter, Carlo's wife Francesca. In addition, Nerio designated Francesca as one of the executors of his last will, as well as the guardian of the town of Corinth, which he had previously taken from his relative Angelo (the Grand Seneschal of Sicilia and the son of Niccolò Acciauli) as a collateral. If Angelo did not pay his debt, proscribed Nerio's will, the town of Corinth would go to Francesca. The clause which proved to be a final blow to the family was the fact that Nerio's will greatly disregarded his elder daughter Bartholomea, leaving her only with the release of nine thousand seven hundred ducats her husband had owed to Nerio. The principal reason for Bartholomea's exclusion seems to have been due to the fact that her husband Theodore, the brother of Byzantine Emperor Manuel II and Despot of Morea at the time, was not on good personal terms with Nerio,⁷⁹ but there might have also been other reasons such as the Byzantine restoration in the Peloponnese and Theodore's increasing power, as well as the Acciauli diplomatic maneuvers towards the Venetians, the Ottomans and other non-Greek political factors involved in the region.⁸⁰

The family dispute turned into an open conflict about Corinth, which, dominating the entrance to the peninsula from the North, connected the Ionian and the Aegean seas, thus playing the role of a most significant strategic and exchange post in the region. The executors of Nerio's will had not even finished the registration of his treasury when Despot Theodore attacked the town, officially claiming it upon his wife's primogeniture rights. A letter by Jacopo Acciauli, bishop of Argos, stating that this happened immediately after Nerio's death indicates more precisely that the first attacks of Despot Theodore must have started as early as late September/early October 1394.⁸¹

At the moment of Theodore's attack, Corinth had already been in the hands of Francesca Tocco. Several eye-witnesses confirm her immediate power over the town, as well as her active participation in its defense. It must have been an impressive picture to see a woman among the troops, especially knowing that some men of her entourage, for instance the bishop of Argos, had already left the town in haste. Even Carlo was not

with his wife in these moments, and the witnesses mention his arrival from Kefalonia only “some time later.”⁸²

This vague hint about the chronology of Carlo’s direct involvement into the dispute is a good illustration of the difficulties the modern historians face attempting to explain the timing of Carlo’s engagement around Corinth. The earliest certain attestation about his personal attendance in the town was dated April 6, 1395, by Nicola Martoni, who travelled through Greece presenting himself as a pilgrim. The statements of Gismonda and Donato Acciaiuoli, Francesca’s relatives who found themselves in the town among other executors of Nerio’s will during the first stage of the hostilities, claim that Carlo came a bit earlier, in November 1394, thus challenging some other primary evidence that indicates how the Tocco lord appeared as late as the end of February 1395.⁸³

Similarly ambiguous are the hints about the duration of Carlo’s stay in Corinth. Martoni’s account informs us that Carlo remained in the town after his wife Francesca left for Kefalonia on April 7, 1395. According to the testimony of one other witness, Venetian mercenary *Bertolinus Culelo*, Carlo must have stayed in Corinth at least “a few months” before he begun to negotiate peace with Despot Theodore, after which he himself left the town. Today, his departure from there to Kefalonia is commonly assumed to have happened between September 1395 and January of the following year, despite some contradicting evidence that suggests his return to Kefalonia even before September 1, 1395.⁸⁴

In comparison with the unclear source information about the chronology of Carlo’s personal involvement in Corinth, the evidence on the content of the Tocco dispute with Despot Theodore is considerably clearer. All the witnesses agree that first he let his wife play active role in it. Before he came, Francesca was recorded as co-ordinating the soldiers and hiring mercenaries, mostly the Venetian subjects of Nafplio (Nauplion). These mercenaries officially testified about the family war some time later (1401), confirming that Francesca organized the defense not only in Corinth, but also in the castles of Megara and Vasilikata (Basilicata), two fortifications assigned as well to her by her father. The witnesses were unanimous on Francesca’s popularity with the soldiers who, primarily because of her, later promised loyalty to her husband. An interesting detail of her methods in winning the sympathy of the soldiers emerges from the testimony of Venetian mercenary *Jacomellus Bendulo*: “And before the said duke [Carlo] entered Corinth, all these mercenaries who were hired

by lady Francesca were always eating and drinking from silver cups, and after the arrival of the lord duke, nobody could see any silver dish because he had them all collected.”⁸⁵

Indeed, the benefits of Francesca’s command under the siege vanished as soon as her husband appeared. This is when Francesca was reportedly marginalized, and her inheritance dispute turned into a direct Tocco affair. Some of the mercenaries apparently hinted at this when they mentioned how Carlo took Nerio’s possessions for himself or distributed them among his own entourage immediately as they entered the town. Carlo’s hidden intentions about Nerio’s possessions are also indicated by the executors of Nerio’s last will who stated that he came to Corinth in order to “take it for himself.” Because of this, the executors went on to demand a legally approved special promise that Carlo would respect the terms of Nerio’s will and its execution. Allegedly after some discussion, Carlo handed this promise to the executors in a written form, properly signed and sealed.⁸⁶

The events that followed, again, are not entirely clear. Some witnesses alleged that Carlo, behaving in the manner of a typical medieval prepotent lord, did not respect his own vows, and tried to confiscate the Acciauli property by physically eliminating some of the executors. Yet these testimonies were not coherent in their allegations and chronology, which might suggest that the Acciauli executors themselves had also some hidden plans with Nerio’s possessions.⁸⁷

At the beginning of the family conflict, the Tocco position was far more advantageous than that of Greek Despot Theodore and the latter’s initial losses could be, at first sight, considered the true signs of the Tocco victory. Besides, the Tocco couple had more funds, and their defenses were reinforced by the Ottomans who were numerous and skilled in fighting tactics. Yet as soon as the Ottomans withdrew, Theodore continued his siege of Corinth. For Carlo, life under such circumstances could be bearable for some time, but not for long. It seems that this reasoning urged him find an acceptable resolution, namely to try selling Corinth, Megara and Vasilikata. He first offered them to the Venetians, but the price he required was too high to keep them interested for long. Following the Venetian rejection, Carlo contacted the Hospitallers who were still generally interested in the Peloponnese, but, just like the Venetians, were not willing to accept the terms of the acquisition proposed by the Tocco lord. The third attempt was finally successful – Carlo sold the towns to

his rival. Despot Theodore gladly paid six thousand golden ducats plus a perpetual annual rent of six hundred ducats, boldly accepting other Carlo's terms as well. Ironically, it is in this retreating transaction that Carlo's political ratio truly shined: he got out from a conflict that had no promising perspective, he received a substantial sum of money for the possessions he would probably never be able to fully enjoy for long, and, finally, he reconciled with the Despot, thus turning his rival into an important alliance.⁸⁸

Accidental as it seems to have been, the conflict for the Acciauli inheritance announced important changes in the family's ruling policy and structure. The most apparent transformation regards Carlo's alliances. While the ancient Tocco political background was based upon the traditional Guelph coalition (the Angevins in Naples/Florence/Pontifical Curia) which had brought Carlo's predecessors to Greece, Carlo was now turning to more effective local options. The most significant among these were the Ottomans, who, by this time, had already played a serious role in the region. Established in Europe from the mid-fourteenth century (in 1354 they conquered Gallipoli), by the 1390s, the Ottomans had already taken the key points across the Balkans. To ensure their participation on his side, Carlo reportedly undertook a secret diplomatic mission in which, as the witnesses alleged, he used luxurious items from his father-in-law's treasury to pay the Ottoman assistance against Despot Theodore. At first sight, this alliance was successful, and around the end of February 1395, Martoni accounted forty thousand Ottoman horsemen storming the Despot's camp, from where this one narrowly escaped leaving three thousand of his men to be captured.⁸⁹

Carlo's orientation towards the Ottomans may have been highly effective, but it was far from being the best solution because the Ottoman soldiers were hard to control. Soon after their triumph in the camp of Despot Theodore, these soldiers turned against their ally, pillaging the land subjected to Carlo and capturing the local population, just as did the Albanians of the Peloponnese and the Acciauli troops loyal to Despot Theodore. Furthermore, the Tocco connection with the Ottomans facilitated the establishment of their groups in the immediate Tocco neighborhood. In February 1395, the Ottomans took the town of Akova; by early spring 1397, their leader Yakoub-pasha (Jakub-pasha) was again under Corinth, but this time for his own interests; by summer 1397, they had already established themselves in Argos, obviously determined to permanently stay in the Peloponnese.⁹⁰

While Carlo was working on the reinforcement of his alliance with the Ottomans, his traditional family attachment to the Angevin court of Naples rapidly decayed. In 1396, Carlo's vassalage to the Angevins in the Principality of Achaea formally ended when King Ladislas sold the Principality to the Navarrese leader, Peter of San-Superano. The importance of this termination for the Tocco has been noted by many modern historians. Some qualified it as a great success, because it meant the formal beginning of the independent Tocco rule on the islands. However, the evidence on the Tocco self-perception shows that they had already considered themselves independent rulers long before this event. Besides, King Ladislas' selling of the Principality terminated only one aspect of the Tocco attachment to the Angevins in Naples, that is, their loyalty to the House of Taranto, while their fidelity to the actual King as their chief suzerain still remained effective. A Venetian document issued on July 7, 1401, inferred that Carlo expressed some rebellious sentiments against the King in Naples, but this document reports that the major part of the tension was caused by the King's requirement to have three of his galleons dispatched to the Levant supplied by Carlo. To the King, this demand was natural because Carlo was his vassal. To Carlo, however, the King's demand was fairly unpleasant, primarily due to the fact that in parallel with this vassalage to the throne in Naples he also owed loyalty to the Venetian Republic, whose interests in the Eastern Adriatic and Greece were rival to those of the Kingdom in Naples. Carlo must have been well-aware that his positive answer to King Ladislas' demands would contradict the interests of his Venetian suzerains, which explains why he turned to the *Signoria* for advice on this particular case. Neither the Venetians favored the idea of having King Ladislas in the vicinity of their newly established dominion in Albania (from 1392), so they advised Carlo to avoid any duty required by the King. What happened after this is not revealed in detail by the existing evidence, but the events reported in 1401 suggest that Carlo had to employ remarkable methods of persuasion in order to avoid an open conflict with Ladislas and calm his rage. The peaceful resolution of this case might have involved even some Tocco of the Neapolitan branch, which is concluded from the fact that around the time when the tension broke out, Guillelmo, the son of Carlo's paternal uncle Pietro, visited Carlo's domain. One of the sources stressed the familial affection as the main reason of Guillelmo's visit, yet Guillelmo's close position to King Ladislas suggests that this occasion might have been a good opportunity for Carlo to arrange some mediation and/or lobbying at the Neapolitan court.⁹¹

Compared to Carlo's relations with Naples, his links with the Venetians during the first half of the 1390s were – if not significantly better – then, at least, more frequent. According to the Venetian concession of citizenship issued to his father in 1361, Carlo too was entitled to certain privileges in this maritime Republic. As from the evidence about this stage of the Tocco-Venetian relationships, one could even conclude that the authorities of the *Signoria* were surprisingly tolerant to Carlo, as he was surprisingly quiet towards them.⁹² During Carlo's conflict with the Despot, the Venetians remained neutral, apparently avoiding the latter's open demands for alliance, and even openly claiming their "affection" towards Carlo through some property donations. A probable explanation of such Venetian disposition seems to come from their interest to obtain Corinth and Megara, the towns controlled by Carlo, for themselves. Yet the *Signoria's* patience might have been based on some other reasons too. Carlo's insular domain was close to the Venetian possessions on Corfu, and given his excessive military build-up and alliances in this period, it was not desirable to disturb him. Alternatively, some calm in the Tocco-Venetian tensions could have also come as a consequence of Carlo's eldest sister's (Petronella) second marriage to a kinsman of the Venetian ducal family that took place just around this time.⁹³

Of course, Carlo's relationship with Venice in this period had its twists and turns. As the Tocco lord was concluding his dispute with the Greek Despot, the Venetians started to calculate the damages their subjects suffered in this conflict, estimating the requirements up to thirty thousand ducats. It may happen that by this calculation the Venetians pondered to balance the price Carlo wanted them to pay for Corinth, but no direct evidence confirms this presumption. What is certain, though, is that between March 16 and April 11, 1396, Carlo's citizenship in Venice was suspended and promised to be restored only after he would make reparations to the Venetian subjects.⁹⁴

Detailed evidence on how the tensions grew out from such a condition can be found in the materials referring to the case John of Cremolisi (*Johannes Cremolisi*), a Venetian subject resident in the Peloponnese. Reportedly, he had lent some money to Nerio Acciaiuoli and was never paid back after Nerio's death. Between 1396 and 1402, the Venetian authorities conducted an inquisition on his case, persistently repeating their demands for Cremolisi's satisfaction from both Francesca and Carlo Tocco as Nerio's heirs. During this dispute, the *Serenissima's* officials demonstrated an unusual interest in the detailed nature and quantity of

the possessions Francesca inherited from her father, conducting extensive inquisitions and witness interviews. Interestingly enough, although pressed by other reparation requirements, Carlo did not hurry to pay for this claim – in fact, he did everything to avoid it, demonstrating a remarkable tactics of excuse-making. In doing so, the Tocco lord and his wife glorified their own deeds in the Peloponnese, underestimating the possessions they inherited from Nerio. The couple equally claimed that Nerio's property was largely lost due to the conflict with the Despot, the Ottoman devastation and the reparations already paid to the Venetians. What was left, according to them, was in a miserable condition. Carlo additionally claimed significant losses of his own possessions, describing his care for Nerio's lands "only for the world's glory."⁹⁵

Apart from reflecting his relations with the Venetians during the mid-1390s, the documents related to the case of Johannes Cremolisi shed more light on a group of the Tocco allies that was not so apparent from other sources. These allies were the family's servitors, all described as *ligii* and *familiares*. Some of them were indicated as confident diplomats or military commanders in various Tocco missions. Judging by the frequency of their documentary appearances, particularly distinguished among them were a *Ciccarelo Giovino* (*Ciccarelo Iuvene*) *di Napoli*, *Giovanni Paliani* of Brindisi, a *Giovanni Scondita*, *Mateo di Napoli*, and a *Galasso Pecatore*.⁹⁶ As shown with their names, most of these people came from the Apennines, namely from the Angevin South. This further implies several important conclusions. First, the decay of Carlo's relationships with the court in Naples obviously did not mean the break of the family's physical link with the Kingdom. Second, the Tocco servitors of the Neapolitan origin seem to have prevailed over the Florentines who had been favored during the regency of Carlo's mother. Third, although Carlo was born in Greece, the lack of the Greeks in the references on his servicemen apparently suggests the prevalence of the 'Italian' / 'Latin' character of his rulership.

Certainly the most special 'Neapolitan' engaged in the Tocco affairs during the 1390s was Carlo's younger brother Leonardo. He held the most important place in Carlo's army.⁹⁷ This position does not seem to have been grounded on his familial status, but rather on a feudal service Leonardo rendered to his elder brother. The benefits of this relationship were, no doubt, mutual. Carlo had an unconditionally loyal figure to control his other dependants, while Leonardo enjoyed a rarely privileged position in the domain's government. Among Leonardo's most significant

privileges was his personal possession of the island of Zakynthos, donated to him by Carlo sometime around 1399.⁹⁸ At first sight, this concession might be seen as an outcome of a division of the Tocco inheritance. However, according to the inheritance practices of the Kingdom in Naples, which was also observed in the Angevin spheres of interest in Greece, Carlo, being the eldest son of Leonardo I, was his legitimate heir and thus not obliged to share any part of the inheritance with the junior members of the family. In addition, the donation formulae *in feudum* and *per eum* recorded in a document with which he donated Zakynthos to his younger brother, as well as the conditional terms of this donation (after Leonardo's death the island was to be returned to Carlo), are a clear evidence that Carlo I Tocco used his private familial links to reinforce the bonds of feudal service.⁹⁹

The privatization of the Tocco feudal service indicates several other changes that took place in the family's structure. Jean Froissart, a French knight who described his visit to the Tocco domain in 1397, hinted, for example, certain instances of power that were not directly controlled by Carlo. The capital of Carlo's father on the island of Kefalonia was directly ruled by his wife Francesca. Another important place of the kindred's power and identity, the island of Zakynthos, was officially in the possession of his brother Leonardo, while Carlo's main residence was now located in the fortress of St. Maure on Leukas. A reflection of the family's residence multiplication and power division among the kinsmen can be found in the Venetian documents referring to Carlo's titles. Before his donation of Zakynthos to Leonardo in 1399, Carlo's title of Count was associated mainly with the family's chief residence on Kefalonia. After 1399, it was Leonardo who appeared entitled in this manner, while Carlo was associated with the title of *Dux* that inferred his power over the island of Leukas and the kindred's central capital established there.¹⁰⁰

In the Tocco chronicle, the brotherly relationship between Carlo and Leonardo is presented as ideal. In reality, however, it seems to have been challenged several times on the loyalty grounds. A document from the family archive issued on March 11, 1401 refers to Leonardo as siding with Magdalena in her dispute with Carlo before 1399, thus suggesting a hidden conflict between the brothers.¹⁰¹ This or some other similar information must have reached a seventeenth-century family historian who wrote that Leonardo did not want to serve his brother, but rather used some opportunities to have his independence confirmed by the Neapolitan King. When this is put alongside the information that

Magdalena Buondelmonti ruled Zakynthos independently from Carlo sometime during the late 1390s,¹⁰² as well as with the Tocco chronicle hints about Leonardo's open rebellion against Carlo, one can conclude that the first decade of Carlo's independent rule in the domain meant not just the strengthening of the family's political position and economy, but also the re-shaping of the relationships between the Tocco lord and his own kinsmen.

⁷⁶ *CroToc*, 1, 9, 115–19, 228, mentions that Carlo was determined to rule even when he was of minor age. Also, *CroToc*, 1, 10, 120–133, 228–30; 1, 11, 134–148, 230. This was accepted by Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 19. For Carlo's contacts with the Venetians in this period, see Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 782 (December 12, 1390), 188; AAV 1: 2, no. 407, 112–14; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 803 (September 7, 1391), 192; AAV 1: 2, no. 443 (March 21, 1392), 145–6; *ibid.*, no. 454 (October 3, 1392), 159–60 and Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 822, 196; *Commemoriali*, t. 3, lib. 8, no. 388 (s. d. = January 1393), p. 218; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 829 (April 15, 1393), 197.

⁷⁷ Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 782 (December 12, 1390), 188; AAV 1: 2, no. 407, 112–14, conditions the benevolent attitude of the Venetians with Carlo's future actions. Some indication about the Venetian willingness to reach a settlement with Carlo can be found in Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, 803 (September 7, 1391), 192, but the first open sign of such a disposition can be found in *Commemoriali*, t. 3, lib. 8, no. 388 (s. d. = January 1393), p. 218 and Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 829 (April 15, 1393), 197.

⁷⁸ Gregorovius, “Briefe,” 308; Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 143; Julian Chrysostomides, “Corinth 1394–1397: Some New facts,” *Byzantina* 7 (1975): 85. Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 21; Kenneth M. Setton, “The Catalans and Florentines in Greece 1380–1462,” in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. Kenneth Setton, vol. 3 (Madison, Wisconsin: Wisconsin University Press, 1975), 256–260; Chrisa Maltezos, “Οι ιστορικές περιπέτειες της Κορίνθου στα τέλη του 14ου αιώνα,” *Σύμμεικτα* 3 (1979): 29–51.

⁷⁹ In roughest terms, the chronology and nature of the conflict between Nerio and Theodore would be the following: during Summer 1389 they took Argos from the Venetians; the Venetians turned to the Navarrese leader who captured Nerio on September 10, 1389; Nerio's captivity ended on May 22, 1390, after which he promised to return Argos to Venice; Theodore's unwillingness to accept and follow Nerio's promise started their dispute. More detailed considerations and assessments of Nerio's relationships with Despot Theodore can be found in Hopf, *GG*, 2, 50–51; Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 133–139, and 144; Chrysostomides, “Italian Women,” 121–2, and 126, Ins. 81–94.

⁸⁰ The last will of Nerio Acciauli (September 17, 1394), published in *MonPel.*, no. 160, 312–318, made in the presence of the witnesses *maestro Egidenor, medico fisico, Gioan di Bruraligii di Erisligio*, a *Giacomo*, and *messere Antonio Cantore*. The last will was sealed by Nerio's pendent seal. As noted by Chrysostomides, “Italian Women,” 122, n. 30, Nerio's

testament rejects the writings of Chalkokondyles, book 4, ed. Bonn, p. 208, and ed. Darkó, p. 195 (from him Benaiteau, “Una famiglia,” 26), according to which he had promised Corinth as the dowry of his elder daughter. Nerio’s last will determines Francesca as the member of a four-body institution in charge of a hospital for the poor in Naples of Romania. Francesca was also designated as the first executor of the will and was assigned with the keys of the coffers that contained Nerio’s jewels and money. Comments on Despot Theodore’s expectations about Bartholomea’s share of the inheritance, Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 85, and *ibid.*, n. 11.

⁸¹ The statement of the bishop of Argos (November 1, 1400), *MonPel.*, no. 221, 426–428; Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 101–2. The letter of the bishop of Argos to Cardinal Angelo Acciaiuoli of Florence (November 2, 1394) as cited in Gregorovius, “Briefe,” 308; briefly reported by Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, no. 878, p. 317. Parts of this letter were also cited by Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 144, n. 2. The letter was mentioned by Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 86 and *ibid.*, n. 13.

⁸² Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 103–107, for the accounts of *Bertolomeus de Bononia*; *Jacomellus Bendulo*; *Bartholomeus Bissa*; *Bertolinus Culelo*. As mentioned by Chrysostomides (and before her, J. P. Loenertz), “Corinth,” 86, n. 12, the bishop might have escaped the town in fear of Theodore’s revenge for his alleged influence on Nerio with regard to Bartholomea’s exclusion from the inheritance, and this seems to be hinted in the testimony of *Bertolinus Culelo*. Francesca was perceived by some modern scholars as a woman of a ‘masculine character,’ see Romanos, Γρατιανὸς Ζώρξης, 64; Miller, *The Latins*, 371, and 395; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 199 (Cf. Chrysostomides, “Italian Women,” 127, n. 60 and 130–1). Differently from that of Francesca, the behavior of her elder sister in this conflict was not documented. For a general context that can serve as an explanation of this attitude of Francesca, see Thérèse de Hemptinne, “Women as Mediators between the Powers of Comitatus and Sacerdotium,” in *The Propagation of Power in the medieval West*, 289.

⁸³ Nicola Martoni, “Pélérinage à Jérusalem” ed. Émil Legrand, *Revue d’Orient Latin* 3: 4 (1895): book 10, p. 658. The statement was issued on September 16, 1395 in Florence. For the comments on the statement’s date, see Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 87. The testimony of *Bertolino Culelo*, in Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 107, suggested that Carlo secretly entered the town, dressed as a peasant.

⁸⁴ Martoni, “Pélérinage,” book 11, p. 659, and 11, 662, dated his arrival to Leukas to Easter Sunday. The testimony of *Bertolinus Culelo*, Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 108–9. The statement of Gismonda and Donato Acciaiuoli (September 16, 1395, in Florence), *MonPel.*, no. 174, 346–7.

⁸⁵ The testimonies of *Jacomellus Bendulo*, *Bertolomeus Bissa*, and *Bertolinus Culelo*, in Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 104–7. *Eadem*, “Italian Women,” 129–30.

⁸⁶ This is particularly evident from the fact that before he entered Corinth, Carlo had nominated his own brother to be in charge of the town’s defence, as quoted in *MonPel.*, no. 163 (November 1, 1394 in Vostiza), 320–321. The testimony of *Bertolomeus Bissa* in Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 106–107: “dominus dux largitus fuit domino Leonardo fratri suo unum corserium maioris precii qui esset in stabulo dicti domini Raynerii [...]”; the testimony of *Bertolinus Culelo*, Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 107. On Carlo’s promise, see

Jean Alexandre Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la Principauté française de Morée et ses hautes baronnies* (Paris: Imprimeurs Unis, 1843), vol. 2, part 1 (=2:1), no. 52, p. 267. The executors do not mention that Carlo wrote it before them, so it might have happened that Carlo had already prepared the document before he came to Corinth. The diplomatic features of his document dated November 1, 1394 (*MonPel.*, no. 163, 320–1), correspond to those mentioned by the executors of Nerio's testament ("nostra scriptura aperta, sopra la fede nostra e la parola nostra ducale; per testimonianza de veritate e cautela de li dicti exequutori, sigillata de lo nostro sigillo mezzano"). This letter was kept among the Acciaiuoli documents in Florence and the statement of the executors of September 16, 1395, mentioned that it was the executors who sent it there and even ordered its copy (October, 26, 1396), as from Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 50, 263. Interestingly enough, the fact that Carlo used his medium-size seal (*sigillo mezzano*=*sigillum mediocre*) to verify his statement suggests that this act had no high importance to him.

⁸⁷ The statement of the executors (September 1, 1395 in Venice), Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 51, 265: "ubi magis inliberi quam liberi poterant reputari de mandato comitis Cefalonie [...]". The statement of the executors (September 16, 1395 in Florence), Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 51, 268 (also in *MonPel.*, no. 174): "Vos numquam receditis hinc, et vos hic mori faciam, nisi michi reddatis dictam scripturam, vel contrariam scripturam faciatis." Similarly, the statement of the executors (September 1, 1395 in Venice), Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 51, 265. The testimony of *Bertolinus Culelo*, Chrysostomides, "Corinth," 108, suggests that Carlo used force to persuade other executors too (Monte Acciaiuoli, for instance).

⁸⁸ The Venetians eventually decided not to accept the offer, as from ASVen, *Senato Misti*, 43, f. 75r–75v; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 883 (July 23, 1395), 208 (this date was corrected by Chrysostomides, "Corinth," 93, n. 41); *MonPel.*, no. 170 (1395, July 27), 340; AAV 1: 3 no. 590 (August 20, 1395), 288–9; *MonPel.*, no. 172, 343. Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 886 (20–26 august 1395), 209, reports that Carlo demanded forty thousand ducats; also see *MonPel.*, no. 173 (August 26, 1395), 344–5. On the chronology of this negotiation (May–August 1395), Chrysostomides, "Corinth," 93. Schirò, "Il Ducato," 603. On the aftermath of the negotiations, see Chrysostomides, *MonPel.*, nos. 184 and 185 (1396, March 21 and 27), 369–72. Chrysostomides, "Corinth," 95; Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 122–3. For the testimony of *Bartholomeus de Bononia*, see Chrysostomides, "Corinth," 103; the testimony of *Bertolinus Culelo*, *ibid.*, 108, mentions also Carlo's demands for hostages. On the chronology and terms of Carlo's negotiations with the Despot and their settlement, Maltezos, "Corinth," 31–2 and 39 (between August 1395 and March 1396); Chrysostomides, "Corinth," 96 (after August 1395, probably between October 1395 and the end of January 1396).

⁸⁹ ASVen, *Lettere di Rettori*, no. 73, and its quotation by Chrysostomides, "Corinth," 88, n. 20. An indication about Carlo's turn to the Hospitallers can be found in the *Capitula Theodori Palaologi*, ed. Chrisa Maltezos, "Corinth," 37–8; 95. On the interests of the Hospitallers into the region see Luttrell, "The Hospitallers at Rhodes," 307–8. In his testimony (Chrysostomides, "Corinth," 105), *Jacomello Bendulo*, reported of having witnessing several "ualixas" which contained money as well as "bacilia, ramonos, confeterias, stagnatas magnas, botacios magnos argenti, tacias multas argenti que omnia in parte erant deaurata

et in magna quantitate cum armis siue insignibus dicti domini raynerii.” A resume of the methods by which Nerio’s treasury was transported out of Corinth, Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 89–91, dated this event into a period between February 21 and 25, 1395, accepting that Carlo entered Corinth during the Ottoman battle with the despot. On Ottoman activities around the town, see the testimony of Jacomellus Bendulo, and the testimony of Bertolomeus Bissa, “Corinth,” 104–106; Martoni, “Pélégrinage,” book 10, pp. 652–3; *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, vol. 2, p. 244, Ins. 238–41 (the third indiction of the year 6903) (for a comment, see *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. Schreiner, vol. 2, 354); Martoni, “Pélégrinage,” book 10, pp. 658–9.

⁹⁰ Martoni, “Pélégrinage,” book 10, p. 649, about the danger for the outskirts of Athens; *ibid.*, p. 653, and n. 2 for the Ottoman damages to the “castro Zuccaminu” (Sykaminon); *ibid.*, p. 656, indicated continuous instability around Megara. The letter of the bishop of Argos (November 2, 1394) as from Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 144, n. 2, mentions Antonio Acciauli (the illegitimate son of Nerio who also inherited some of his possessions) and Bertrandon Mota as the allies of the Despot. Some Albanians might have also been on the Tocco side, as from AAV, 1: 2, p. 336. On the chronology and nature of the Albanian presence on the Peloponnese, see William Miller, “The Princes of the Peloponnese,” in *id.*, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (reprint, Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964), 97; Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 101–5. On the Ottomans in the Peloponnese, Ducas, *Chronicon Breve*, ed. Bonn, p. 516, ln. 21–p. 517, ln. 2; Loenertz, “La Chronique brève moréote de 1423,” 16–9, 405; *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 2, p. 244; pp. 354–5; the letter of the castellans of Modon and Coron, Antonius Bembo and Marinus Karavello, to the Venetian authorities (April 1, 1397), in Maltezou, “Corinth,” p. 46, Ins. 86–90 and p. 49, 211–9. The Ottomans attacked Corinth in spring/early summer 1397, on the occasion of which campaign they took Argos (ASVen, *Lettere di Rettori*, no. 65 from March 1397; *MonPel.*, no. 197 [June 3, 1397], 393–395).

⁹¹ The transfer of the Principality was documented by Nicolae Jorga, ed, *Notes et extraits pour servir à l’histoire des croisades au XVe siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris–Bucarest: Leroux, 1899) (= Jorga, *Notes*), 101 (April 20–24, 1404). Hopf, GG, 2, 104; Miller, *The Latins*, 370–1; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 169; Kolyva-Karaleka, “La penetrazione,” 83; Benaiteau, “Una famiglia,” 26. Carlo’s communication with the Venetians in relation to King Ladislav’s request was documented by Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 2, no. 244 (July 7, 1401), 35–7; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, 1021; AAV, 1: 3, no. 886, 242–4. Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 2, no. 244 (July 7, 1401), 36. Cf. AAV 1: 3, no. 886 (July 7, 1401), 243, n. 1. On the Venetian establishment in Albania, see Ducellier, *La façade*, 500–2, and Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Das Venezianische Albanien (1392–1479)* (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2001). Ricca, *La nobiltà*, vol. 3, 275–6, quoting a document of the *Registrum Ladislavi ad ann. 1404*; Jorga, *Notes*, (May 1, 1404), pp. 101–2. “Diaria Neapolitana,” *RIS*, vol. 21, 1068D–E (Goriello de Tocco), suggested that Guillelmo visited his relative between July 7, 1401 and February 12, 1402; the same in *I diurnali del duca di Monteleone*, ed. Michele Manfredi, *RIS* n.s. 21:5 (Bologna: Zanichelle, 1958), 74, Ins. 1–7. Guillelmo’s mission on this occasion was to arrange the marriage between King Ladislav and Maria of Lusignan of Cyprus. An evidence of Guillelmo’s close attachment to the Neapolitan court can be found in AAV, 1: 3, no. 811 (June 18, 1400), 163–9; AAV, 1: 3, no. 978 (August, 16, 1402), 327–31. As it is indicated in ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fols. 27r–v/31r–v (March 11, 1401, ad ann. 1398, certified June 1, 1695), Guillelmo had

already been commissioned some tasks by King Ladislas with regard to his kinsmen in Greece.

⁹² The Venetian commission to Fantino Zorzes, in Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 882 (July 23, 1395), 208, openly instructs him to avoid any proposal of the despot about the Venetian participation in the League of Morea, designed to defend the Peloponnese from the Ottomans. Fantino was allowed to accept the Despot's proposal only if the Hexamilion (a defensive fortification on Isthmus) was finished. Cf. Chrysostomides, "Corinth," 93.

⁹³ An evidence on her connections with the Tocco islands even after she got married can be found in an uncertified paper copy of her last will, ASVen, *Cancellaria Inferiore: Miscellanea, Notai diversi, busta 22*, no. 852 (1391–1394), fols. 1r–1v; The Venetian raids to the Tocco lands were mentioned by AAV, 1: 3, no. 889 (July 28, 1401), 246–7; *MonPel.*, no. 236, 475. Cf. Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμεικτα*, vol. 1, 94 (May 6, 1395): "Sichi"; AAV 1: 3, no. 580, 277. Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 886 (August 20, 1395); AAV, 1:2, no. 590, 288–9.

⁹⁴ For the Venetian attitude on this issue and the calculations, see AAV, 1: 2, no. 613, 315–6; no. 62bis, 328–9. As from AAV, 1: 2, no. 618 (March, 27, 1396), 320–1; *MonPel.*, no. 184, 369; no. 185, 371, and *Commemoriali*, t. 3, lib. 9, no. 23 (April 19, 1396), p. 238. From Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμεικτα*, vol. 1, 92, and AAV, 1: 2, no. 629, 336, it is clear that Carlo did not solve the entire debt.

⁹⁵ Schirò, "Il Ducato," 603, n. 32, noted that the Venetians organized other similar actions against Carlo, namely, the suspension of his citizenship as well as the raids on his insular domain. The documentation about the process can be found in ASVen, *Lettere di Rettori*, no. 62 (1385, October 28); *ibid.*, no. 64 (August 8, 1396); *ibid.*, no. 70 (December 20, 1399); ASVen, *Lettere di Rettori*, no. 74 (November 1, 1400); *ibid.*, no. 75 (November 3, 1400); *ibid.*, no. 77 (November 16, 1400) (quoted documents published in *MonPel.*, 420–436; AAV 1: 3, no. 889 (July 28, 1401), 246–7; no. 978 (August, 16, 1402), 327–31. ASVen, *Lettere di Rettori*, no. 161 contains an inventory list of Nerio's property; *ibid.*, no. 162 (June 13, 1400); *ibid.*, no. 163; *ibid.*, no. 164 (December 31, 13??). Also, see, AAV 2: 7, 722bis (ante 1398, December 7); 727ter (December 7, 1398), pp. 3–4, revealing that the entire sum of debt was 35 864 golden ducats; *ibid.*, 747bis and 747ter (May 23, 1399); 747q (c. May 23, 1399); 747quinq (May 23–June 20, 1399); 757bis (before June 20, 1399); 757ter (July 9, 1399), p. 5. ASVen, *Lettere di Rettori*, no. 64 (August 8, 1396); *ibid.*, no. 70 (December 20, 1399); *ibid.*, no. 74 (November 1, 1400); *ibid.*, no. 75 (November 3, 1400); *ibid.*, no. 77 (November 16, 1400); AAV 1: 3, no. 889 (July 28, 1401), 246–7; *MonPel.*, no. 203 (June 13, <1399>), 401, also, nos. 204, 205, 208, and 209. Cf. Francesca's supplication as from Jorga, *Notes*, 98 (March 15, 1400 in Naples), showing that she did not tell the truth to the Venetians about the inheritance.

⁹⁶ On Giovanotto (*Ciccarello Giovine di Napoli*), cav. Giovanni Paliani da Brindisi and Giovanni Sconditi, all three Carlo's *ligi* and *procuratores*, see *Commemoriali*, t. 3, lib. 9, no. 16 (January 2, 1396) p. 236; Martoni, "Pèlègrinage," book 11, p. 662; AAV 2: 7, no. 761bis (August 16, 1399), 6–7 and *ibid.*, no. 761ter (of the same date), 7–8; ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta 4*, perg. 158 (July 19, 1379 in Naples), might be the same character as the one mentioned by Francesca. For Matheo, see the account of *Johannes de Braueria*, Chrysostomides, "Corinth," 104. This seems to have been the same person mentioned as performing various tasks for Carlo referred by *CroToc*, 1, 28, 392–3, 248; 3, 30, 1145–1150, 302; 4, 1, 1167–68,

306; 5, 11, 1490–92, 330; 9, 6, 2283–85, 390; 14, 5, 3622–24, 488; 14, 10, 3680–86, 492; 14, 17, 3825–34, 502. AAV, 2: 5, 1430bis as a “Mathaeus de Landulfo de Neapoli, consiliarius et familiaris dilectus ac syndicus et procurator.” For Galasso, *CroToc*, 1, 13, 157–58, 232; *ibid.*, vv. 160–61; 3, 23, 1055–60, 296; 3, 24, 1072–73, 296.

⁹⁷ On certain aspects of the relationship between Carlo and Leonardo, Nada Zečević, “Brotherly Love and Brotherly Service: on the Relationship between Carlo and Leonardo Tocco,” in *Love, Marriage and Family Ties in the Middle Ages: Selected Papers presented at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds 2001*, eds. Miriam Müller and Isabel Davis (Brepols: Turnhout, 2003), 143–56. The testimony of *Jacomellus Bendulo*, Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 105, hints at Leonardo’s mission to the Ottomans during Carlo’s hostilities with the Greek Despot. Another indication of a similar activity can be found in ASVen, *Lettere di Rettori*, no. 73. Comments on his itinerary (presumably to Wallachia), Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 91 and *ibid.*, n. 34. For hints on Leonardo’s accuracy with the Acciaiuoli affairs, see *MonPel.*, no. 148 (1394, July 30), 290–291. An important sign of Leonardo’s privileged position can be found in DA, *Div. Not.*, 12, fol. 139r (September 21, 1416), published as a *regestum* by Bariša Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Âge* (Paris–The Hague: Mouton, 1961), no. 626, p. 266. This document mentions Leonardo as entitled to seal acts. The testimony of Bartolomeus Bissa, Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 106–7 indicates that Carlo gave him some pieces of Nerio’s possessions.

⁹⁸ The confirmation of the donation by King Ladislav from the *Registrum Ladislavi*, recorded in a certified copy (June 1, 1695), ASN, ATM, *Scrittura diverse*, busta 48, (April 12, 1400), fol. 29r; mentioned by Hopf, GG, 2, 104 and n. 52, under April 2, 1400 and Kolyva-Karaleka, “La penetrazione,” 84; partially interpreted in Jorga, *Notes*, (April 1, 1400), p. 80. Zečević, “Brotherly Love,” 153–4.

⁹⁹ The confirmation of King Ladislav, ASN, ATM, *Scrittura diverse*, busta 48, (12 April 1400 of the eighth indiction), fol. 29r, and partly Jorga, *Notes*, (1 April 1400), 80: “per eundem, et suis heredibus utriusque sexus ex suo corpore legitime descendentibus natis iam, et in antea nascituris in perpetuum irreuocabiliter, liberaliter, et de nouo nomine feudi [...]” (also, *ibid.*, referring to fol. 29v/33v: “feudali seruitio pro factis Ducatu Lucatae, Comitatu Cephalonie, et Insula Jacinti. [...] ac voluit quod in casu quod dictus exponens sine legitimis haeredibus ab hac uita decederet et non alios reuerentur penitus, et redderent prout haec, et concessis ponuntur plenius contineri [...].”

¹⁰⁰ Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, in *Ouvres de Froissart*, vol. 16, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Bruxelles: Closson, 1875), 53: “ [...] dames et demoiselles qui [...] en ont la seigneurie [...] les femmes en sont comme les souverainnes.” It would be important to note here that most of the information about the Tocco titles in this period comes from the Venetians whose references usually confused them, incorrectly referring to Carlo as to “Ducha Zefalonie,” “Duca et comes Zefalonie,” or “Dux Luchate et Cefalonie.” (e.g. AAV 1: 3, no. 886 [July 7, 1401], 242), perhaps resulting from their deliberate intentions to belittle the power and status of the Tocco lord.

¹⁰¹ Thiriet, *Régestes*, 1, no. 803 (September 7, 1391), 192; AAV 1: 2, no. 428, 127–8. A clear sign of Leonardo’s participation in the family dispute on the side of his mother can be found in ASN, ATM, *Scrittura diverse*, busta 48, fols. 27 r–v/31r–v (March 11, 1401, ad ann. 1398) (certified June 1, 1695). Leonardo’s probable ‘apostasy’ hinted in ASN, ATM, *Scrittura*

riguardanti la famiglia, busta 11, 1, 9, fol. 255r was accepted by Pignatore, *Memorie*, 77; Schirò, "Il Ducato," 600.

¹⁰² ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fols. 29r–30v/33r–33v, confirms that Magdalena did enjoy some possessions on Zakynthos: "totam eius insulam, Terram et Castrum Jacinti, cum omnibus Juribus, membris et pertinentiis suis quas tunc tenebat et possidebat magnifica Mulier Magdalena Ducissa Lucatae [...]."

‘Ο δεσπότης

The two decades that followed Carlo's conflict with Despot Theodore are today usually seen as a dark period in the family's past. This is largely due to the fact that the only source from which we know about this period *in continuo* is the family narrative, the *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia*. At first sight an extensive report of the affairs related to the family, from the structural and functional point of view it is an obvious work of the Tocco propaganda. The primary motive of its anonymous writer was to glorify Carlo and his family, so the accuracy of the account has to be frequently checked against documentary evidence. This, however, is not always simple, namely because the original Tocco documents from this period are few in number, while other information that could verify the Chronicle's account comes from the family's neighbors, who did not necessarily have to perceive the Tocco affairs in the same manner as the family did.¹⁰³

Scholars today commonly agree that, between 1400 and 1418, the Tocco power was largely featured by Carlo's struggle with the Albanians and his expansion from the Heptanese to neighboring Akarnania, Aetolia and Epiros where he received the Byzantine title of Despot.¹⁰⁴ The real motive for Carlo's military interventions that lasted for two decades in the regions adjacent to his islands is not clear and will always provoke scholarly debates. To some researchers, Carlo's anti-Albanian campaigns were the retaliation against Ghinno (Ghjin), the chieftain of the Albanian kindred of the Spata, who had reportedly been devastating the Tocco domain during the regency of Carlo's mother. Other scholars saw Carlo's military engagement against the Albanians rather as an attempt to save the local population from the general Albanian "tyranny." Sometimes, these activities of Carlo were interpreted as his answer to a plot of the "Latin princes" who also aspired on the family domain, or a series of accidental events that aimed at taking the advantage over the Ottomans following their defeat in the Ankara battle (1402).¹⁰⁵

The events narrated at the beginning of the family chronicle indicate that Carlo's conflict with the Albanians first took place on the continent, in the hinterland of the Tocco domain. To briefly summarize the known details, not long after October 1399, Carlo's soldiers attacked some outposts of the Spata kindred in the vicinity of the Tocco islands (e.g. Zaberda, Vonitsa). Then they allegedly moved eastwards, occasionally raiding the Spata lands in southern Akarnania. By 1407, the Tocco lord had already come into the possession of places Katohi (Katoche), Anatoliko, and Dragomesto. The fort of Angelokastro, at the time the main residence of Sgouros Bua Spata, also seems to have been temporarily in Carlo's hands during this period. The entire situation was not gladly seen by the Venetians who too aspired to this territory, so for a few times in this period, Carlo was on the edge of an open conflict with their soldiers.¹⁰⁶

One part of Carlo's offensive went against the Spata possessions in the northern part of Akarnania. Among the key points of his attention there was the town of Arta, governed at the time by Muriki Spata. In symbolic terms, Arta was the most important regional center because it had been the capital of the Greek Despotate that developed in Epiros after the Fourth Crusade (1204). Instituted by Michael I Angelos Komnenos Doukas (1204–1215) after the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders, until the mid-thirteenth century the 'Despotate' centered in Arta challenged not just the surrounding French and Venetian dominions, but also its Greek rival, the Empire 'exiled' in Nicea (Nicaea, Nikaia). During the second half of that century, Epiros became the key point of interest of the Angevins in Naples and their Orsini retainers on the Ionian islands. Several members of these families attempted to gain the Byzantine imperial prerogatives through the legacy of Epiros by connecting themselves in marriage with the Angeloi Doukai Komnenoi dynasty. Shortly before 1340, Emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos restored Constantinople's central power there, but this advance did not result in the stability of imperial control. From the North came a Serbian offensive, subsequently provoking the attacks of the Albanian kindreds to the region's north-western section, so the Greeks collapsed after the battle at Acheloos (Achelous) (1359), in which the Albanian chieftain Carlo Thopia killed Niceforo II Orsini, the last ruler of Epiros associated with the Angeloi legacy. Soon, Epiros was divided again, this time between some new political players – the Serbian 'Despot' in Ioannina, Albanian 'princes' Ghinno Spata in Acheloos and Angelokastro, and Peter Liosa (Ljosh) in Arta and the Rogoi fort.¹⁰⁷ By the time where Carlo Tocco came to power,

the region was further fragmented between the Spata petit-lords and some other, non-Albanian rulers. One of these was Carlo's maternal uncle Esaù Buondelmonti, who established himself in Ioannina by marrying the widow of the town's previous lord, Serb Thomas Preljubović (mid-1380s). Esaù invested a great deal of time and money into enhancing the town's political position, especially its autonomy with regard to the capital in Arta. During his rule, Ioannina reached the peak of its economic development, and its reflection can be found in the 'egocentric' identity of its townsmen and separatistic aspirations of the town's elite.¹⁰⁸

To establish himself in Epiros, therefore, Carlo had to fight not just the Spata chieftains, but, in fact, a more complex group of enemies that involved the local Greek forces and even his own kin. The death of his key adversary, Ghinno Spata, in 1399/1400 gave Carlo an opportunity to confront the rest of his rivals in Epiros. However, he headed an opposite direction and engaged his troops in the Peloponnese. There, he clashed with Centurione II Zaccaria (1404–1430), leader of the Navarrese company of the Genoese origin who had bought his title of the Prince of Achaea from King Ladislas. Centurione was the relative of Peter of San-Superano (nephew of his wife), and he became the new master of Achaea in the Peloponnese after winning a family inheritance dispute that followed Peter's death in November 1402.

The Tocco-Zaccaria hostilities seem to have started some time after November 1402, reportedly with an initial attack by Centurione because Carlo had raided his domain. The Tocco Chronicle recorded Carlo's retaliations around mid-1407, when he sent his brother Leonardo against Centurione's residence in Clarentza (Glarentza, Klarentsa) in the Western Peloponnese.¹⁰⁹ Notably, the Tocco Chronicle represented these actions as totally unrelated with Carlo's campaign in Epiros, which influenced Donald Nicol to conclude that "Carlo's ambitions of conquest [...] were no longer confined to Akarnania" and that he "had dreams of returning to the attack in the Morea," which he had given up after the settlement of his wife's inheritance dispute in the mid-1390s.¹¹⁰ A few references in the documentary evidence issued by the Angevin King in Naples show, however, that the background of these activities were not Carlo's ambitions, but rather Centurione's aspirations. According to a certified copy of King Ladislas' letter to Centurione dated March 15, 1404, the Zaccaria lord attacked Carlo because he wanted to punish Carlo's younger brother Leonardo for declining his loyalty to him; this loyalty was based upon some *feuda* Leonardo had in the Principality of Achaea. As from the

correspondence exchanged between King Ladislas, Centurione and Carlo, Leonardo Tocco refused to pay the three thousand ducats required by Zaccaria on the grounds of his feudal contract. Consequently, he had to face a swift revenge in his Peloponnese domain, after which he turned to his brother for protection. The hostilities between Carlo Tocco and Centurione Zaccaria grew so tense that King Ladislas had to intervene, appealing to the common sense of both parties. Eventually, the King succeeded in persuading Leonardo to pay his duties, so on April 24, 1404, he also urged Zaccaria to halt his raids on the Tocco territory. The King's efforts, however, were not enough, and the Venetian evidence shows that the hostilities continued in summer 1407. As the initial dispute about Leonardo's debt to Centurione had already been resolved, why did the two lords continue to fight? The course of their confrontations recorded during the second decade of the 15th century suggests that this happened because Centurione's power over the Principality of Achaea automatically implied his right to claim other Angevin aspirations in the region, including the Tocco insular domain, and the Despotate in Epiros which Carlo apparently wanted too.¹¹¹

A truce with Centurione allowed Carlo go back to his plans in Epiros. There he first focused on his uncle's town of Ioannina, where he attempted to gain the support of some townsmen. The Tocco Chronicle alleges that Carlo's main supporters were the members of the town's elite, so his efforts to gain their assistance for the acquisition of the town involved generous gifts, compliments, diplomatic promises, hidden menaces, as well as his personal contacts with the Ioannina archons some of whom he even hosted in his domain.¹¹²

Esaù Buondelmonti died in February 1411, leaving Ioannina to his widow, Eudokia Balšić, who was not popular there, so a wide public discontent with her quickly turned to an open rebellion. The reaction of the Ioannina townsmen was reportedly heated by the Tocco spies and their local supporters, so only two months later, Carlo was already mentioned as the town's master. The family chronicle describes his entrance to Ioannina as a magnificent princely *adventus*, celebrated in the streets and other settlements under the town's jurisdiction. Carlo's acceptance by the Ioannina elite as their new ruler was symbolized in a reported act of the town keys' conference and the Tocco lord purportedly accepted the major elements of their Greek-Orthodox tradition. His chief residence was transferred to Ioannina, and his administration incorporated the traditional town institutions and decision-making instances (σύγκλιτος,

κεφάλια, the metropolitan clergy), while Carlo himself started to officially participate in the Orthodox service at the town's church of the Archangel.¹¹³

Certainly the most interesting aspect of the Tocco establishment in Ioannina is Carlo's title of Despot, which started to prevail in the reference of the family chronicle exactly after the Tocco ensconcement there. However, the Tocco chronicle does not make it clear whether this title inferred the 'official' status of the Angeloi rulers of Epiros, or it was only a reflection of a less prominent title, the one of 'Despot of Ioannina' that had been previously used by Thomas Preljubović in order to designate his own power over the town. At the moment of Carlo's establishment in Ioannina, Arta, the true capital of Epiros, was still out of the Tocco hands, so it seems that his title of Despot referred only to his power over Ioannina. Such, it could have legitimized Carlo's factual power over the parts of Epiros he had already taken, but it also justified his further expansion towards the remaining points of the Byzantine ruling tradition in Arta.

According to the Tocco Chronicle, Carlo's position was confirmed directly by the Byzantine Emperor in Constantinople. Allegedly, this was necessary in order to satisfy the demands of the Ioannina aristocrats, who were said to have let Carlo into their town not only because he promised to protect them against the Albanians, but also because he was willing to 'restore' the borders and political power Ioannina had had before he established his power there. As the chronicle's narration further suggests, this did not mean the restoration of the rights and freedoms granted to the townsmen of Ioannina by Emperor Andronikos II in 1319 and reportedly limited by Preljubović or Buondelmonti's wife, but first and foremost, the enactment of the townsmen aspirations towards the power of the Greek Despots. In other words, the Ioanniniotes allegedly wanted their new master Carlo I Tocco – who does not seem to have objected it from his part – seek an official recognition of his power over Ioannina from the imperial authorities in Constantinople because thus they would confirm their own intentions to make their town the center of the entire Epiros. The decisive stage of the negotiations with Constantinople was entrusted to Carlo's brother Leonardo and this choice was justified with an allegation that Leonardo was well-known to the imperial court through his personal merits to the Byzantine Emperor in the Morea.¹¹⁴

Leonardo's mission to the Byzantine capital is reported to have resulted in the arrival of the coronet (στεμματοργίον) to Ioannina by the first half of the summer 1415. In addition to this most important despotic

trapping, the position of the officially recognized Despot brought to Carlo several important imperial privileges, namely, the rights to use the epithet βασιλεία μου, as well as the rights to issue charters, to sign in red ink, to use the imperial sign of the eagle, and to participate in imperial ceremonies.¹¹⁵ Carlo's bestowment also brought certain rights to his wife Francesca who could now also use the imperial epithet βασίλισσα.¹¹⁶ Yet, as Carlo did not reach this position through a true imperial lineage, his competencies were limited in some matters, so the rights granted to him did not pertain to other members of his family nor could they be transferred by inheritance or donation.¹¹⁷

To Carlo as a 'Frankish'/Italian ruler of a traditionally Greek land, and a leader of a junior branch of his family, the imperial grant of the Byzantine title of Despot must have seemed a particularly significant accomplishment. Yet this recognition did not have the same degree of importance for the imperial authorities in Constantinople. To them, Carlo's title of Despot functioned only as a nominal reference to the power previously exercised in the region by Greek Despots of the imperial lineage and it did not imply Carlo's automatic connection to the instances that operated within the official imperial hierarchy. Carlo's bestowment should neither be seen as significant from the point of the imperial authority, because the concession of the despotic *insignia* to a powerful lord of the foreign origin, actually, indicates the lack of a focused interest and control by the Byzantine Emperor in the region. At this time, Byzantium was focused on the struggle between Sultan Mehmed I (1413–1421) and his brothers and the restoration of the imperial power in the Peloponnese. In such a constellation, the Emperor's bestowment of the title of Despot to Carlo – the most powerful lord in Epiros who was neither Greek nor Orthodox – served only as a pragmatic way to buffer the actual lack of immediate imperial control in the region and, potentially, an attempt to turn the imperial rival into an alliance that could sometimes prove useful to Constantinople.¹¹⁸

It seems that Carlo himself understood well the illusionary message of his title of Despot, so having occupied Ioannina, he continued towards Arta. The ancient capital of the Greek Despotate was held at the time by Muriki Spata, allied with another Albanian chieftain, Ghinno Zenevesi (Gjin Zenebish) who controlled Argyrokastro. Both lords felt threatened by Carlo's advancement, so they started a series of synchronized raids to the Tocco possessions in Epiros. They had good connections with the Ottomans, and this alliance enabled them triumphs in several battles.

One such victory reportedly took place at *Kraneia* (Cranea, Glavitza) in 1412 and was described by the Tocco chronicle as the most terrifying defeat of Carlo's troops. On this occasion, Leonardo Tocco narrowly escaped death, while most of his soldiers experienced humiliating imprisonment by Ghinno Zenevesi. The Spata-Zenevesi coalition was additionally reinforced by one other Tocco rival – Centurione Zaccaria from the Peloponnese. In autumn 1413, this one renewed his conflict with the Tocco, attacking Leonardo's fleet near Zakynthos and attempting to organize an anti-Tocco rebellion on Kefalonia, both steps signaling that the Tocco politics in the region was still the high priority for the Prince of Achaea.¹¹⁹

To win Arta, Carlo chose to first conclude a new settlement with the Zaccaria lord, so a new three-year truce took place on July 12, 1414. Sometime in 1415 or early 1416, Muriki Spata died, which additionally relieved Carlo, leaving him with a relatively easy task to fight Muriki's brothers Carlo and Yakoub-pasha, both far beyond Muriki in terms of leadership skills and abilities. To further facilitate his acquisition of Arta, Carlo also attempted to secure the support of various political factors, namely the Ottoman commanders, the Venetians, the Tocco Italian kinsmen and compatriots, and even some of their Spata rivals. Similarly as with Ioannina, Carlo recruited supporters also within the town's walls.¹²⁰ It seems that during this last period of his conquest in Epiros, Carlo widely applied the methods of the so-called 'deceptive diplomacy.'¹²¹ According to the Tocco chronicle, while attacking Arta, Carlo sent his brother Leonardo as an envoy to Yakoub-pasha, instructing him to claim that he had deserted his brother. To obtain Yakoub's confidence, Leonardo negatively spoke about Carlo and flattered the Ottomans. Then, he proposed Yakoub to attack Vobliana (Bompliana), a Tocco outpost in the vicinity of Arta. Allegedly not knowing about the Tocco troops there, Yakoub-pasha accepted this proposal. Carlo's soldiers waited hidden in the fort; their sudden appearance surprised the Ottoman army and contributed to its defeat, while the pasha narrowly escaped, to be soon captured and decapitated.¹²²

Carlo ceremonially entered Arta to receive its keys at the beginning of October 1416. To the Tocco chronicler, the entire event was a great success, and Carlo Tocco was now glorified as a man who united the Greeks of Epiros – an endeavor that "could not have been done in the last two hundred years." The Tocco lord, however, saw the things differently. To him, even though Arta was counted as one of his major capitals

(together with St. Maure on Leukas, St. George on Kefalonia, and Ioannina in Epiros), it was less important than Ioannina. This is confirmed by the facts that this town was governed by his brother Leonardo and that Carlo usually came there only to hunt. The material remains attesting to the Tocco power over the region are few, so the comments of the family chronicler about Ioannina as “open and healthy” in relation to Arta as “narrow and styptic” are additional indications of a new reality Carlo introduced to Epiros. Initially formatted as a revenge campaign against the Albanians, Carlo’s expansion soon became a full-scale conquest of a territory that enabled the Tocco seigniorial domination over the Ionian islands transform into a Despotate, and ally, even just formally, with high spheres of power – those with the imperial prerogatives.¹²³

¹²³ Bon, *La Morée*, 1, 270. A comprehensive reconstruction of the events in this stage of the Tocco rule has been done by Nicol, *The Despotate*, 169–82; partly also by Asonites, Το Νότιο, 153–6; 161–176. For a recent standpoint that assumes the chronicler as a Greek member of the Tocco elite (as firstly defined by Schirò, “Prolegomen II,” 137–9), see Spyros Asonites, “Μερικές εύλωττες σιωπές του Χρονικού των Τόκκων,” Τεκμήριον 5 (2005): 31–47.

¹²⁴ Nicol, *The Despotate*, 169.

¹²⁵ *CroToc*, 1, 11, 134–48, 230. Cf. Chalkokondyles, book 4, ed. Bonn, p. 211, and Darkó, vol. 1, 198. For scholarly interpretations of these accounts, see Arabantinos, Χρονογραφία, vol. 1, 158; Hopf, *GG*, 2, 106; Schirò, “Il Ducato,” 606–7; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 177–8; *PLP*, vol. 12, 1; Zachariadou, “Marginalia,” 195; Oliver Jens Schmitt, “Geschichte Lepantos unter der Venezianerherrschaft (1407–1499),” *Südostforschungen* 56 (1997): 46; Preka, “Η εθνικότητα στο χρονικό των Τόκκων,” 306–8; Sansaridou-Hendrickx, “The World View of the Chronicle of the Tocco,” 210–40; Zachariadou, “Les Tocco,” 13–14.

¹²⁶ As suggested by the chronology proposed by Schirò, *CroToc*, 1, 19, p. 237, these events must have taken place between the death of Ghinno Spata (October 29, 1399) and a battle for Angelokastro (Easter Sunday as from *CroToc*, 1, 19, 235, p. 238; as from Schirò 1401/1402 – sic, N. Z.). For the chronology of the key events here, see B. Katsaros, “Συμβολή στην ιστορία και μνημειακή τοπογραφία του χωριού Κατοχή Άκαρνανίας: Νέα στοιχεία από το Χρονικό των Τόκκων,” *Ελληνικά* 30 (1977–8): 318, to have started as early as 1400; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 171; Soustal, “Griechen, Italianer,” 268–9; Zachariadou, “Marginalia,” 208–9; Schmitt, “Geschichte Lepantos,” 48–9. Some allegations of the Tocco chronicle can be confirmed by the Venetian documents, e.g. *AAV*, 2: 5, no. 1285 (September 14, 1407), 60–2 for the Tocco activities around Angelokastro narrated by the *CroToc*, 1, 18, 211–23, 236; 1, 19, 224–45, 236–8 (‘introducing’ divine help to Carlo on this occasion); 1, 20, 246–53, 238.

¹⁰⁷ *CroToc*, 1, 14, 174–8, 232: “Μέσον εἰς τὰ καμώματα [αὐτὰ ποῦ εἶχε κάμει]/ἔτυχε καὶ συνέβηκεν ἀπέθαν[εν ὁ Σπά]τας.” Ghinno’s death was dated by *Croloan*, 41, 161 into October 29, 1399 (Thursday); Schirò, *CroToc*, 1, 14, p. 233. On the Tocco attacks of Arta in this period, *CroToc*, 1, 27, 332–76, 244–8. Cf. AAV, 2: 6, no. 1530 (March 15, 1410), 23–7. More documentary evidence of this stage can be found in AAV, 1: 3, no. 1046 (July 20, 1403), 402; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1368, (March 15, 1410), 90; AAV, 2: 6, no. 1600, 86–9 (September 27, 1410). Generally about the region in this period, Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 104; Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 13–17; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 137–42; Neira Necipoğlu, *Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire* (Cambridge – New York: CUP, 2009), 235–8.

¹⁰⁸ *CroToc*, 3, 4, 712–25, 272–4; 3, 5, 726–36, 274; 3, 6, 737–59, 274–6. On the family alliance between Esaù and Muriki, *CroToc*, 3, 3, 700–711, 272. Preljubović’s power over the town dates back to the mid-fourteenth century. Notorious for his aggressive character, frequently expressed in public, Thomas perished in a plot, perhaps organized by his wife, who soon after his death married Esaù. After she died, Esaù first married Irene Spata and later Eudokia Balšić, the sister of a Serbian lord Mrkša Žarković. On the economic importance of Ioannina more recently G. Kourmantzes, “Από τη Βυζαντινή στην Οθωμανική πόλη (15ος–18ος αι),” in *Ἡπειρος: Κοινωνία–Οικονομία 15ος–20ος αι.: Πρακτικά διεθνούς συνεδρίου ιστορίας* (Giannena: Δῆμος Ἰωαννιτῶν, 1987): 1–25; Elizabeth Zachariadou, “Παραγωγή και εμπόριο στο δεσποτάτο της Ηπείρου,” in *Ἡπειρος: Κοινωνία–Οικονομία 15ος–20ος αι.*, 87–92. About the chronicler’s specific perception of Ioannina’s leading role in the region, *CroToc*, 5, 6, 1376–1410, 322–4. Alkmini Stavridou-Zaphraka, “The Political Ideology of the State of Epiros,” in *Urbs capta: the Fourth Crusade and its Consequences/La IVe croisade et ses conséquences*, ed. Angeliki E. Laiou (Paris: Lethielleux, 2005), 311–323.

¹⁰⁹ *CroToc*, 2, 2, 528–44, 258; *CroToc*, 2, 1– 6, 518–64; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 2, no. 416 (July 25, 1407), 180–1; no. 417 (July 25, 1407), 181–2, and AAV 2: 5, no. 1263, 39–40; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 2, no. 418, and AAV, 2: 5, nos. 1265– 1267, 41; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 2, no. 419 (July 25, 1407), 182 and AAV 2: 5, no. 1264, 40–1; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1273, 71; AAV, 2: 5, no. 1321 (February 6, 1408), 99–100. See comments by Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 162–3; Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 49–52; Oliver Jens Schmitt, “Zur Geschichte der Stadt Glarenza im 15. Jahrhundert,” *Byzantion* 65: 1 (1995): 100–5. For a more general picture of the regional situation, see Maria Dourou-Eliopoulou, *Το φραγκικό πριγκιπάτο της Αχάτας 1204–1432: ιστορία, οργάνωση, κοινωνία* (Athens: Βάνιας, 2005).

¹¹⁰ Nicol, *The Despotate*, 172–3. Cf. John V. A. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans: A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest* (Ann Arbor, Mich: The University of Michigan Press, 1996²), 543, as based on the evidence in Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1235, 63.

¹¹¹ ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fols. 24r–25r(27r–28r) (March 15, 1404, certified June 1 1695), partly referred to by Jorga, *Notes*, 99, mentions a concession to Leonardo Tocco by Peter of San-Superano, confirmed by King Ladislav of Naples (“castrum Turris Nemoris, Castrum Spalato et Feudum de la Valta in the pertinentijis principatus achaie”). For a more detailed evidence on this dispute, see ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48,

fols. 22r–22v(25r–v) (March 15, 1404, certified June 1 1695), published in an abbreviated form by Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 55, 273–4, and Jorga, *Notes*, 98; ASN, ATM, *Scrittura diverse*, busta 48, fols. 24r–25r (27r–28r) (March 15, 1404, certified June 1, 1695). Cf. Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 2, 155–6, on the Venetian efforts to ease the tension. ASN, ATM, *Scrittura diverse*, busta 48, fols. 20r–20v (23–24) (March 16, 1404, certified June 1, 1695), partly in Jorga, *Notes*, 99. Cf. interpretations by Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 162; Bon, *La Morée*, 1, 282; Schmitt, “Zur Geschichte der Stadt Glarenza,” 101; Asonites, Το Νότιο, 159–61.

¹¹² *CroToc*, 4, 1, 1161–73, 306; *ibid.*, 5, 3, 1325–40, 320; *CroToc*, 5, 4, 1341–54, 320–2; 5, 5, 1355–75, 322; 5, 6, 1376–1410, 322–4; 5, 7, 1411–17, 326. Among the townsmen who reportedly helped Carlo’s acquisition of Ioannina the Tocco chronicler mentioned Captain Stefan Vojislav (*CroToc*, 5, 14, 1517–20, 332), Simon Strategopoulos, the captain of the town in the time of Esau’s rule (e.g. *CroToc*, 5, 4, 1344–53, 320) and his son Paul (*CroToc*, 5, 17, 1595, 338; 6, 12, 1762, 350). Cf. Chalkokondyles, book 4, ed. Bonn, p. 212, and ed. Darkó, vol. 1, pp. 198–9. On Carlo’s diplomacy of “sweet” words, Nada Zečević, “Λέξεις γλυκεῖαι: The Importance of the Spoken Word in the Public Affairs of Carlo Tocco (from the Anonymous Chronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia),” in *Oral History of the Middle Ages: The Spoken Word in Context*, eds. Gerhard Jaritz and Michael Richter, *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 12 = CEU Medievalia 3 (Krems–Budapest, 2001): 108–16.

¹¹³ *CroToc*, 4, 1, 1161–73, 306 dated Esau’s death into a period after the alliance of his son and Muriki’s daughter. Today, his death has been usually dated into February 6, 1411, see Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 18. A slightly different date has been proposed by “The Oxford fragment of the Chronicle of Ioannina,” ed. Leandros Branoussis, in *id.*, *Ιστορικά και τοπογραφικά του μεσαιωνικού κάστρου των Ιωαννίνων* (Athens, 1968), 1417/8, 78/510 (1411, February 20, Friday). *CroToc*, 4, 3, 1190–1201, 308; 4, 4, 1203–15, 308–10; 4, 9, 1276–95, 314; 5, 1, 1304–10, 318; 5, 13, 1500–10, 332; 5, 14, 1511–29, 332–4; 5, 15, 1530–60, 334–6; 5, 16, 1561–79, 336; 17, 1580–97, 336–8. More on Esau’s family see Giuseppe Schirò, “Evdokia Balšić vasilissa di Gianina,” *ZRVI* 8 (1964): 383–91; Thierry Ganchou, “Giourgès Izaoul de Ioannina, fils de despote Esau Buondelmonti, ou les tribulations balkaniques d’un prince d’Épire dépossédé,” *Medioevo greco* 8 (2008): 1–42. For the residence of the Despots in the north-western part of Ioannina, the so called “upper tower” (“γούλα ἀπάνω”) see Branoussis, *Ιστορικά και τοπογραφικά*, 22/454–23/455. On the spatial organization of Ioannina during the late Middle Ages, see, Kostas Tsoures, “Η Βυζαντινή οχύρωση των Ιωαννίνων,” *Ηπειρωτικά χρόνια* 25 (1983): 133–57.

¹¹⁴ *CroToc*, 5, 18, 1598–1607, 338; 8, 1, 2109–37, 378–80; 8, 1, 2118–20, 378; 8, 3, 2154–78, 380–2; Ανωνύμου πανηγυρικός εις Μανουήλ και Ιωάννην Η΄ Παλαιολόγους, *PP*, 3, 194. On the reconstruction of the Hexamilion by the Byzantines – it took them only 24 days to re-build 153 towers – Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 168–9; Giuseppe Schirò, “Manuele II Paleologo incoronò Carlo Tocco Despota di Gianina,” *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60): 217. Leonardo, although being the vassal of the King in Naples just like his brother, reportedly served the Byzantine Emperor for his own interests. The Tocco chronicle alleges that for this he was invented with the title of grand constable (“μέγας κομεστάβουλος”) by the Byzantine Emperor who also gave him the imperial vestment and other honors after his military campaign against the ‘great Tsasi’ Eliabourko, the greatest opponent of the

Emperor in Morea at the time. For the same reason *CroToc* 8, 2, 2138–54, p. 380, recorded Leonardo as an οἰκεῖος. For a further reference on this epithet, Ostrogorsky, “Observations on the Aristocracy,” 28, n. 104, and Alexander Kazhdan, “Οἰκεῖος,” in *ODB*, vol. 3, 1515. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 182, concludes that Leonardo was given the title of great constable only on the basis of his factual homage to the Byzantine emperor in Morea. Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 69, on a nominal significance of the family name Kantakouzenoi (“Καντακουζηνάτοι”), reportedly also attributed to the Tocco on this occasion, considering this to have happened in 1414. A more detailed consideration of the chronology of the events in Schirò, “Manuele,” 220–23. Cf. *PLP*, vol. 12, 5.

¹¹⁵ There seems to be a scholarly consensus about the time when the despotic trappings were sent to Carlo – the time that coincided with the construction of the Hexamilion. See the fragment of “The Oxford manuscript of the Chronicle of Ioannina,” 1417/8, 78/510, thus, summer 1415. However, based upon different source accounts, some modern scholars, for example, Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 168, and n. 4, dated the event to an earlier date (after March 13, 1415). A detailed analysis of the chronology of Carlo’s coronation was done by Božidar Ferjančić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* (Despots in Byzantium and south-Slavic lands) (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut SANU, 1960), 82–3, but does not stand today in all of its points because he did not know about the account of the Tocco chronicle and the related Ragusan and Venetian documents, all discovered after his work was published. Cf. Rodolphe Guiland, “Études sur l’histoire administrative de l’Empire byzantin: le despote, δεσπότης,” *Revue des études Byzantines* 17 (1959): 77. On Carlo’s bestowment, see *CroToc*, 5, 16, 1565, 336: “Εορέβην ἐπροσκύνησεν. Ἐπολυχρόνισάν τον,” and cf. Pseudo-Kodinos, *De officialibus Palatii Constantinopolitani et de officiis Magnae Ecclesiae*, ed. Immanuel Bekkerus (Bonn: Weber, 1839), 69: “πολυχρονίζουσιν.” For the place of his coronation, see “The Oxford fragment of the Chronicle of Ioannina,” 1417/8, 78/510. On the Despots’ entitlement ὁ βασιλεὺς, Božidar Ferjančić, “O despotskim poveljama (About charters of despots),” *ZRVI* 4 (1956): 93; cf. Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 20, n. 64. Cinnabar ink was identified in Carlo’s signature of his donation grant of August 24, 1424, as from G. E. Typaldos, “Εἰς ἄγνωστος σύγγαμπος Κονσταντίνου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου,” *Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἐταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος* 9 (1926): 528, as well as in the donation grant of Carlo I Tocco to Egidio Leonessa (August 30, 1425), as from Federico Patetta, ed., “Argirobullo di Tommaso Paleologo ed altri documenti per la storia degli Italiani in Oriente,” *Nouvo Archivio Veneto* 8 (1894): 267. The Angeloi despots, whose legitimacy Carlo Tocco inherited also signed in red ink, see Ferjančić, “O despotskim poveljama,” 93. For the representation of eagles (one- or two-headed) used by Byzantine Despots, Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 24–5.

¹¹⁶ Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 63, (s. m., 28 1424), 283: “Η ΒΑΣΙΣΣΑ.” *Ibid.*, no. 66 (December 7, 1424), 285–6: “Dei gratia, vasilissa Romeorum.” Hiotes, *Ἱστορικά ἀπομνημονεύματα*, vol. 2, (December 7, 1424), 622–3, in cinnabar ink “φραγγήσχα ἡ Βασίλισσα,” *MM*, 3, no. 12 (May 28, 1428), 253–254: “+ Φραγγήσχα, διὰ τῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ χάριτος βασίλης Ῥωμαίων” (in the intitulation), and: “+ Φράγγισκα, χάριτι θεοῦ βασίλισσα Ῥωμαίων +” (in the signature). Lampros, *PP*, 1, 32, and Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 25, noted that the spouses of Despots were nominated in this manner. Cf. Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 132, n. 2, according to whom wives of despots could be called only

“δέσποινα.” Francesca’s self-intitulation as βασίλισσα, however, was recorded even before this event, as early as 1394 (Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 47 (September 24, 1394), 253–4, which casts some doubt about the connection of her title with the title of Despot assumed by her husband. More on this, Nicol, *The Despotate*, 198.

¹¹⁷ Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 10; 12–14. *CroToc*, 5, 17, 1590–3, 338, recorded Carlo as conferring donations after his acquisition of Ioannina in 1411 regardless of this Byzantine practice. From this reference it is difficult to ascertain whether Carlo donated Greek or Latin titles: “Τὸν καπετάνιον αὐτὸν ἐτίμησεν μεγάλως/κάστρον τοῦ εὐεργέτησεν κατὰ κληρονομίας/καὶ τὸν γαβρόν του ἔκαμεν ἀρχὴν εἰς τὰ φουσσαῖα,/πρωτοστράτορα ἐποίησεν καὶ τὸ ραβδὶν τοῦ ἔδωκε.” *Ibid.*, 1593–7, 338. Cf. Carlo’s donation grant of November 3, 1428, as published by Typaldos, “Εἰς ἄγνωστος σύγγαμβρος,” 528, where he addressed one of his tenants with the Greek title of “sebastos.”

¹¹⁸ Ἀνωνύμου πανηγυρικός εἰς Μανουήλ καὶ Ἰωάννην Ἡ Παλαιολόγους, PP, 3, 194. John W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaiologos 1391–1425: A Study in Late-Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick–New York: Rutgers University Press, 1969), 346, n. 89. For the nature of the title, see Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 19; 84. Cf. Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, passim, e.g. 200.

¹¹⁹ *CroToc*, 6, 16, 1819–57, 354–6; 6, 3, 1633–43, 342; 6, 5, 1662–80, 344; *CroToc*, 6, 6, 1681–95, 344–6; *CroToc*, 6, 8, 1704–14, 346; 6, 9, 1715–23, 346–8; 6, 10, 1723–36, 348; 6, 11, 1437–49, 348–50. On a similar situation before this period, AAV, 2: 5, no. 1367 (July 20, 1408), 157–62. Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 219 and 227. For the chronology of the battle at Kranea, see Nicol, *The Despotate*, 179 and Schmitt, “Zur Geschichte der Stadt Glarenza,” 103 (spring or summer 1412); Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 62 (“before August 1413”); Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans*, 356 (1414). Among the captives in the battle, *CroToc*, 6, 12, 1750–66, 350, mentions Algasio, Carlo’s relative of the Neapolitan Tocco branch. On him, see Nada Zečević, “The Italian Kin of the Tocco Despot: Some Notes about the Relatives of Carlo I Tocco,” *ZRVI* 39 (2002): 245–47. For the Tocco reception of the battle’s outcome, *CroToc*, 6, 13, 1767–76, 350–2. For a bad treatment of the prisoners by Ghinno Zenevesi, *CroToc*, 6, 14, 1777–1807, 352–4. Particularly interesting are the following descriptions of the torture Zenevesi imposed on his prisoners: “Καὶ ἰδὲς τὸ τί χονδρότητα καὶ ἀπαιδευσίαν τὴν εἶχεν/καὶ πῶς τοὺς ἀπεδέχθηκεν καὶ ἀσχυμολόγησεν τοὺς!” (vv. 1778–9) and “Ἐθνικὰ τοὺς τυράννιζεν, ὥσπερ οἱ παραβάται./ Δίχρονον τοὺς ἐκράτησεν εἰς τὴν φρουρὰν ἀπέσω/Βασανισμὸν ὑπέμειναν, θλίψιν, στενοχωρίαν” (vv. 1805–7). On the Tocco confrontations with the Zaccaria in this period, see Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1498 (July 28, 1413), p. 116, and AAV, 2: 7, no. 1821, 69–71; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 39 (August 11, 1413), 43–4. On the naval battle with Zaccaria’s men in 1413, see *CroToc*, 6, 17, 1858–87, 356–8; 6, 18, 1888–96, 358. On Zaccaria’s involvement in the preparations of the Tocco rebellion, see *CroToc*, 6, 17, 1858–87, 356–8.

¹²⁰ For the truce with the Zaccaria, see Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 3, no. 615 (July 12, 1414), 61–62, and AAV, 2: 7, no. 1885, 125–7. Muriki’s death was dated by Schirò, *CroToc*, 7, 11, 371, into 1415–16. After Muriki’s death, Arta was governed by his mother, Esau’s widow (*CroToc*, 7, 12, 2020–26, 370). Indications of Carlo’s alliances can be found in *CroToc*, 6, 20, 1913–33, 360–2; *CroToc*, 7, 6, 1959–72, 362. *CroToc*, 7, 7, 1973–81, 366–8. The Venetian

help in Carlo's conflict with Centurione was hinted by *CroToc*, 6, 18, 1888–96, 358, although they kept rather neutral in public, as from Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 3, no. 615 (July 12, 1414), 61–62, and AAV, 2: 7, no. 1885, 125–7. On Carlo's favorable treatment of some Spata prisoners at the time, see *CroToc*, 3, 29, 1123–4, 300; 7, 8, 1782–93, 368; 7, 9, 1994–99, 368 (with a lacuna); 7, 10, 2000–10, 368–70; 9, 19, 2597–2611, 412; 9, 23, 2642–49, 416 (attention to Esau's widow); *CroToc*, 10, 12, 2868–90, 432; 10, 13, 2891–7, 432–4; Carlo's donation of November 3, 1428, as from Typaldos, "Εἰς ἄγνωστος σύγγαμβρος," 528. To Schirò, "Il Ducato," 612, and Zachariadou, "Marginalia," 209, Carlo's alliance with the Ottomans (his illegitimate daughter was later married to Hamza-bey) was particularly useful for Carlo's establishment in Arta.

¹²¹ See *CroToc*, 3, 2, 684–99, 270–2 and 3, 19, 968–96, 290–2, for some examples of Carlo's tactics. Similarly, *CroToc*, 1, 33, 466–75, 254; *CroToc*, 3, 14, 840–52, 282, and 15, 853–923, 282–4. Details about Carlo's connection with Muriki Bua Spata and Dimo Bua were considered in Zečević, "The Italian Kin," 238–242. A reference to some other Spata as Carlo's allies can be found in *CroToc*, 1, 12, 149–55, 230. For the Tocco connection with the Ottomans in this period, *CroToc*, 1, 30, 417–39, 250–52; 1, 36, 491–506, 256; 3, 26, 1091–1100, 298; 3, 7, 760–75, 276. Zachariadou, "Marginalia," 200–1, n. 23; 207–9. *CroToc*, 1, 31, 440–59, 252; 1, 37, 507–17, 256. *Ibid.*, 1, 32, 460–65, 252–4, mentions interesting details of the protocol on the occasion of Carlo's meeting with Yusuf-bey: "Ἀπὲ τὰ χεῖρια ἐπιάστησαν, ἀλλήλως συντυχαίνουσιν / ὅτι ἦσαν καὶ οἱ δύο ἀπόκουτῃς καρδίας."

¹²² *CroToc*, 10, 2, 2686–96, 418–20; 10, 3, 1697–2708 [with a lacuna], 420; 10, 4, 2709–43, 420–2; 10, 5, 2743–51, 422–4; 10, 6, 2752–63, 424; 10, 7, 2764–79, 424–6; 10, 8, 2780–91, 426; 10, 9, 2792–2831, 426–8; 10, 10, 2833–46, 428–30; 10, 11, 2847–67, 430–2. Schirò, "Prolegomeni I," 75. About the subsequent developments, see *CroToc*, 10, 14, 2898–2911, 434; 10, 15, 2912–14, 434.

¹²³ *CroToc*, 10, 20, 3001–19, 440–2; 10, 11, 2864, 430: "ἄνθρωπος ἀποθαμμένος ἡ μάχη τελειωμένη." About Carlo's settlement with the townsmen of Arta, *CroToc*, 10, 16, 2915–63, 434–8; 10, 17, 2964–77, 438; 10, 19, 2993–3000, 440. "The Oxford fragment of the Chronicle of Ioannina," 79/511, dated the event into October 1, 1416, Thursday. The earliest documentary mention of the Tocco rule over Arta can be found in Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1660 (July 9, 1417), 156, a document referring to two letters which inform the Venetians that the "Duke of Kefalonia" had already become the master of Arta before June 8, 1417 ("qui obtinuit dominium terre Arte"). Cf. the Ragusan evidence in DA, *Div. Not.*, 12, fol. 243r, partly in Jorga, *Notes*, 169, n. 1, and in the form of *regestum* in Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 647, p. 269, referring to Carlo's wife as "dignissima ducissa dela Luchata, comitissa Cephalonie palatina, domina Jaline" on July 11, 1418. For the allegations about Carlo's great success with Arta, see *CroToc*, 10, 22, 3026–45, 442–4. On the chronicler's allegation about the Despotate having been divided for two hundred years, *CroToc*, 10, 22, 3032, 444. *CroToc*, 10, 22, 3026–8, 442: "Τὴν Ἀρταν καὶ τὰ Ἰωάννινα, ὅπου ἦσαν χωρισμένα/ἐκ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν δεσποτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν Ῥωμαίων/νὰ τὰ ἐνώσωσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ νὰ γενοῦν τὸ ἓνα." The expressions of the chronicler's joy about the "reunification" of Arta and Ioannina and the allegations of the Tocco role in this can be found in *CroToc*, 10, 22, 3029, 442. For the chronicler's perception of Ioannina and Arta, see *CroToc*, 8, 1, 2109–37, 378–80; 13, 3454–7, 476. *CroToc*, 13, 6, 3452–3, 476,

and wider analysis by Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx, "The World View of the Chronicle of the Tocco," *Byzantiaka* 21 (2000): 195–241. For the importance of Arta, see Alain Ducellier, "Aux frontières de la Romanie: Arta et Sainte-Maure à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Travaux et Mémoires* 8 (1981): 113–124. *CroToc*, 5, 14, 1523–5, 332, mentions a "custom" ("συνήθειαν τὸ εἶχαν") of despots resident in Ioannina to go hunting to Arta.

Despotus Romaniae and Despotus Romeorum

With Epiros under his control and his position allegedly legitimized by the Byzantine Emperor, Carlo I Tocco appears to have left the Angevin world to become a ruler of the Greek (Byzantine imperial) tradition. His main residence was now located in Ioannina, his title of Despot stood above his previous titles of Duke of Leukas and Count of Kefalonia, Ithaka and Zakynthos, and his power was accepted, if not even glorified, by his Greek subjects.¹²⁴ Yet, none of his new Greek trappings could hide the fact that as a Despot Carlo was unusual for the Byzantines. The signs he adopted through the ritual and trappings of the imperial sovereignty were clearly just formal, while in reality he continued to observe the practices of his *Patria* in the Apennines.¹²⁵

The most obvious indication of Carlo's attachment to his original power base comes out from a reference issued by his chancellery, which, on May 8 and June 21, 1418, entitled him as *Despotus Romaniae*. In the thirteenth-century Angeloi tradition, the title of Despot implied a most elevated dignitary imperial rank, having no special reference to any landed possession, while here, Carlo's title was explicitly associated with the territory he governed in Epiros. In this title, Epiros was seen as a part of *Romania*, i.e. the territories of the Roman Empire (Byzantium) that had been under direct control of the Franks/Latins since the partition of the Empire by the Crusaders in 1204.¹²⁶

During the fourteenth century, the title of *Despotus Romaniae* was mainly associated with the Angevin princes of Taranto who claimed it through their connection with the Angeloi (Komnenoi Doukai) Despots of Epiros. It was also used by the Orsini who had governed the Ionian islands before the Tocco. How the title *Despotus Romaniae* came to the Tocco is not clear. The documents in which Carlo was entitled in this way originated from his own chancellery and chronologically coincide with the turbulent uprisal of the south-Italian barons against Queen Joanna II

(1414–1435), in which Carlo openly sided with some of the rebels (namely, his relative Algasio). Curiously enough, around the same time, the power of his rival Centurione Zaccharia, another lord who also claimed the title through his possession of the Angevin Principality of Achaea was at its lowest level. Centurione's army was defeated by Despot Theodore II and his brother, Basileus John (Emperor John VIII 1425–1448), and his capital Clarentza taken by an Italian adventurer Oliverio Francone. Based upon these circumstances, it seems that Carlo simply usurped the title after having realized that the uprisal against his Angevin suzerain would prompt his final detachment from the throne in Naples, and subsequently, his true independence in the key places of the Angevin interest zone in Greece.¹²⁷

The relation of Carlo's title *Despotus Romaniae* with the authentic Byzantine title of Despot is even less clear. Reportedly, Carlo had the title confirmed by Emperor Manuel II. The official Byzantine sources contemporary to the events, however, are silent about the imperial perception of this confirmation, while the accounts of 'neutral' observers like the Ragusans or the Venetians project their ambiguous understanding of the title of Despot and substantial chronological gaps in reference to Carlo entitled in this manner.¹²⁸ Consequently, was the title of Despot conferred to Carlo Tocco first by the Byzantine Emperor, and then used by Carlo to infer the legacy of his Neapolitan suzerains in *Romania*? Or, it was just the opposite, that Carlo first usurped the title of *Despotus Romaniae* from his suzerains in Naples and then had the Byzantine Emperor confirm it, which the latter did – tacitly or openly – regardless of the title's authentic Greek implications, in order to keep Carlo formally attached to Constantinople? Finally, could Carlo use two similar but separate titles, the one of *Despotus Romeorum* confirmed by the Byzantine Emperor, and the one of *Despotus Romaniae* he usurped from his suzerains in Naples?

Whatever the answer on this issue may have been, the non-Greek character of Carlo's rulership is apparent from many aspects of his power. Administratively, his officers were organized similarly to those of the Angevin court in Naples, even when their titles were translated to look Greek. In juridical affairs, Carlo appealed exclusively to the "habits and customs" of the Latin *Romania* or the Kingdom in Naples. The Tocco military council consisted of his favorites, men congregated either from the kinsmen and *familiares* or from his loyal soldiers, most of whom, again, originated from the Italian South. Sometimes, the names of these people were quoted in Greek, which might lead to an erroneous conclusion that

the Tocco administration largely accepted the members of the local Greek society. This situation is also reflected well in the family chronicle – while praising his master as a Greek Despot, its anonymous author glorified his Italian/Latin values, especially elaborately when the Tocco relations, offices or weapons were mentioned.¹²⁹

Carlo's preferences towards the Latin world can be well seen from his attitude to religion. Although his title of Despot in Ioannina required from him a nominal toleration of the Orthodox rite, the influence of the Catholic bishopric on Kefalonia under Carlo grew remarkable, especially after Pope Martin V (1417–1431) appointed the Tocco relative Antonio Acciaiuoli of Florence as bishop there. The Franciscan monastery of *Sissio* (of St. Francis of Assisi) on Kefalonia was controlled by a *canonicus* who was also linked with Carlo through family. A most remarkable sign of his derogative opinion of the Orthodoxy can be found in one of his letters dated 1418, where Carlo openly called the faith of his Greek subjects barbarian (“de barbara fede dei Greci”).¹³⁰

Illustrative examples of Carlo's application of the Neapolitan Angevin institutions and practices can be found in his donation documents. His public acts were issued on parchments *all' italiana*, in Latin (few remaining private letters of Carlo reveal his use of the Neapolitan and Venetian vulgar dialects) and his chancellery employed Neapolitan notaries who wrote in the *humanistica* minuscule, using a regular system of abbreviations and ligatures, as well as the style of the ornamented initial letter. The interior elements of Carlo's public acts followed the Neapolitan practice, with invocations, for instance, that were both symbolic and verbal, and the *data chronica* regularly quoted in the documents' protocol as: year, day, month, indiction, *data topica*. Carlo's donation grants contain the formulae commonly quoted by the Angevins (“dedit, dauit et donauit” as well as “heredibus et successoribus”). Witnesses were numerous, and their names reveal that in most cases these people were of the Neapolitan or south Italian origin. The eschatocol of the acts contained notaries' comments, as well as their pictorial signs (pen, cross).¹³¹

Carlo seems to have had also a Greek chancellery. It is, however, hard to discern its features in detail, firstly because only few Greek Tocco documents currently exist, and, secondly, because they cannot be adequately compared to similar documents issued by other Byzantine despots of the time since the form of these documents greatly varied in this period, depending more on the individual position of each despot to

the Emperor in Constantinople, rather than on some strict diplomatic regulations. Still, even such a situation can not obscure an important impression that Carlo's Greek chancellery, just like its Latin counterpart, still functioned upon the western models, perhaps even only as a translating office. The arguments for this conclusion can be found in a donation act issued by Carlo's wife Francesca to a *Guliano Zaota* on May 28, 1428. At first sight, Francesca's donation does follow the Byzantine practice: it is called ὀρισμός, it contains the usual *formula* διὰ τοῦ παρόντος ἡμεταίρου προστακτικοῦ καὶ ἐβεργίτικοῦ ὀρισμοῦ τῆς βασιλείας μου, the word ὀρισμός was mentioned three times (although not according to the regular Byzantine scheme Accusative-Genitive-Nominative but as Genitive-Nominative-Nominative), and she signed in cinnabar ink. Beneath this, however, Francesca's donation contains numerous elements common for the Latin donation practice of the time: *datatio* including place, month, day, indiction, the year calculated from Christ's birth unlike the usual Byzantine practice that would require the quotation of the year from the Creation of the world in 5508/5509, indiction, and month. Then, most of the vocabulary in Francesca's donation was an apparent translation from Latin and reflected the formal elements of the Angevin donation practices like the *formulae* δίδωμεν, ἐπιδίδωμεν, χαρίζομεν, ἐβεργετοῦμεν ("conferimus, donamus, tradimus, largimur") and ὡς ναίον ἐπιδίδωμεν ("de novo [nomine] donamus"). The eschatocol of Francesca's donation lacks the important *formula* of the Byzantine charters: ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία μου ὑπέσχημ' ἑαυτῇ (κράτος). Finally, the signature of this act, instead of the strict Greek devotion *formula* ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ, recorded the χάριτι θεοῦ, which is just a Greek translation of the *Dei gratia devotio* of Latin documents.¹³²

Francesca's act of 1428 mentioning *Guliano Zaota* as being donated with a house in St. George on Kefalonia is a good illustration of one other significant aspect of the Tocco rulership in this period – their favor of the Italians. This conclusion contradicts the Tocco chronicle which would like its audience assume the Tocco entourage as 'cosmopolitan,' with Serbs, Albanians and Greeks among Carlo's soldiers. A more focused look into the documents clearly shows, however, that Carlo's favor of the Greeks and other ethnic groups was confined only to those individuals who were willing to adapt to the Tocco structures in administration or army. Also, the Greeks mentioned as the Tocco servicemen appeared mostly in the lower or medium strata of the family ruling apparatus, while the evidence

of the higher instances of the Tocco power rarely distinguishes Slavic or Albanian names.¹³³

Judging from the frequency of the names and their appearances in the family documents, the high posts in the family's administration and army were reserved for those with ancestry in the Apennines. Carlo's employment of Italians, however, did not end with his court or his army. He still trusted most his own kinsmen, namely his younger brother Leonardo. After Leonardo died around the year 1418, Carlo attempted to compensate this loss with his own illegitimate sons, Torno, Ercole and Menuno, all three distinguished by the family chronicle and rare documentary materials as capable soldiers and educated men. Leonardo's children proved useful too – his son Carlo eventually became the legitimate heir of the entire domain, while his daughters' conjugal alliances during the 1420s significantly contributed to the improvement of their uncle's political status. In addition, the Tocco documents issued between 1418 and 1428 reveal that Carlo also employed his kinsmen of the more distant Neapolitan branches. Two individuals who enjoyed his special trust and favor in this period were Leonardo (*Nardo*) and Algasio, the grandsons of his father's eldest brother Pietro. Some less prominent Tocco, like a *Giovanotto*, were also recorded high in his service as the members of his council or his diplomatic envoys. The documents referring to Algasio reveal interesting details about how Carlo's sense of familial solidarity could turn into a feudal service. In 1418 Algasio was recorded as a resident at Carlo's court, most probably in order to evade the consequences of his rebellion against Queen Joanna II. In return for Carlo's protection and shelter, Algasio rendered him active military service during the final stage of the Tocco conquests in Epiros. This useful network also included several female relatives from Naples, such as a *Giovanella*, the daughter of *Carluccio Tocco* of Naples or her sister-in-law, *Angela*, whose marriages were arranged with the neighboring lords, in order to sustain Carlo's political interests.¹³⁴

The Italian Southerners were Carlo's most numerous servicemen, but they certainly were not the only Italians in his domain. The Tocco chronicle also hints at the presence of the Florentines, as was a *Lot*, the commander of one fortification conquered by the Tocco in Epiros. Some Florentines, especially those recorded during the last decade of Carlo's rule, were the Tocco Buondelmonti-Acciauli relatives and their friends. *Nerio di Donato Acciauli* of Florence resided at Carlo's court in 1423 and 1424. The family letters hint that Nerio was sent there to study the Greek

literary tradition, logic, natural and moral philosophy, art and medicine, all of which would suggest certain humanistic activities in Carlo's surroundings. Of course, in the land which the Florentine aristocracy considered the cradle of Classical heroes, Nerio had to perform certain mundane tasks in return for his mighty relative's hospitality. One of them was to attend Francesca's entourage and maintain diplomatic communication between her husband and the Acciaiuoli of Athens. The young Acciaiuoli brought with him some other compatriots, all members of the Florentine humanistic elite. Among these, the Tocco records mentioned *Pala Noferi*, *Nanni Strozzi* (a relative of the humanistic statesman *Pala Strozzi*), *Philipo Bardi* and a *Niccolò Machiavelli*, the predecessor of the famous political theoretician whose work *The Prince* echoes some ruling habits and perceptions similar to those of Carlo's setting.¹³⁵

The fact that Carlo Tocco kept the contact with the Florentine humanistic circles opens up a set of new questions: what did these contacts mean to him and his closest family? Were they based upon regular familial communication or they came as the result of a more focused political attention? Most importantly, to what an extent did the connection with these intellectuals affect Carlo's perception of lordship and power? To answer in detail these and similar questions is not possible, primarily because the turbulent events that took place in the region contributed to the general loss of direct evidence about these issues, not just the written material but also the works of art that might have been circulated in the Tocco domain or among its visitors at the time. Some hints suggest that the Tocco knew well the general trends of Florentine Humanism, and the hints of such a lifestyle come out from the family chronicle which stresses the education of Carlo's illegitimate sons and his brother's children: Ercole was taught to be "sweet" with people, Torno was good in rhetoric, while Menuno and Carlo II, both "skilled in letters," had a substantial knowledge of literature.¹³⁶

'Enterprising' spirit, noted as the family's common feature by William Miller, was one of Carlo's characteristics somewhat unusual given the feudal ideals he valued. Interestingly, this term does not imply just his political pragmatism, but also a significant degree of economic entrepreneurship. In many instances, especially during the last decade of his power, Carlo was interested, and even personally involved in trade. Initially, the first exporters from his domain, but also its main suppliers, were the Venetians. However, following a long and exhausting dispute with the *Signoria* on one of Carlo's subjects, a *Bartholomeo Benedicto*

(1413–1418), Carlo lost his patience and turned to the Ragusan merchants, allowing them the exclusivity of trade in entire Epiros. This step significantly disturbed the Venetians and put Carlo on the brink of war with them on several occasions during the 1420s. Only during the final years of his rule, it became apparent that this attitude aimed at lowering the Venetian scrutiny of the Tocco domain and its economy, as well as at opening him possibilities to expand the economic base of his power and ally with other, more controllable trading neighbors.¹³⁷

Carlo's power build-up was neither received well by the Byzantines of the Peloponnese who felt threatened both by his military forces and his economy, so their conflict was imminent during the last decade of Carlo's rule. Today, the actual causes of this conflict cannot be determined with precision, as the surviving sources reveal a variety of reasons that might have provoked the initial hostilities. The Tocco chronicler suggests, for instance, that the men loyal to Greek Despot Theodore II frequently raided Carlo's lands. Carlo, for his part, however, was reported to have "plotted" with the Ottomans against the Greeks, and his sons were allegedly engaged in several attacks on the Greek section of the Peloponnese. An unusual alliance between Carlo and Centurione Zaccaria – unusual as these two had been fierce rivals for more than two decades – might have additionally provoked the Greek Despot, equally as Carlo's support to Antonio Acciaiuoli, the Duke of Athens who had used the opportunity of Despot Theodore's engagement against Centurione Zaccaria in 1418 to take some places in the Peloponnese for himself.¹³⁸

The message of Carlo's self-intitulation as *Despotus Romeorum* (=of the Romans, i.e. Greeks), recorded in the Tocco documents for the first time in 1418, suggests that the Greeks did not feel threatened just by Carlo's territorial ambitions but, more importantly, by the ideological implications of his political appetites. In simple words, the Byzantine imperial ideology did not object Carlo's title *Despotus Romaniae* as long as it represented him as a foreign ruler of a territory they considered still a part of their Empire. However, to use the title *Despotus Romeorum* (*Despotus Romanorum*), as Carlo started to do more frequently from 1418, meant a direct assault to the imperial power because it implied Carlo's supremacy not just over the territory, but most importantly, over the Romans (Greeks, Byzantines) – the power that could be exercised only by the Byzantine Emperor.¹³⁹

As it is widely known from the Anonymous' Eulogy to Manuel II and John VIII, the open conflict between Carlo and the Greeks started around the end of 1426, after Carlo's men attacked Albanian troops of the Peloponnese loyal to Despot Theodore II. This precipitated the Byzantine counterattack, so the Greeks besieged the Tocco troops in Clarentza both from the land and the sea. Then, sometime between summer 1427 and the beginning of 1428, Byzantine commander Leontares attacked the Tocco fleet commanded by Carlo's son Torno at Echinades (the entrance to the Gulf of Patras) and defeated the Tocco troops. Torno narrowly escaped, but the majority of his men were either killed, or captured and enslaved. As noted by Dionysios Zakynthos, this was the last Byzantine naval triumph, but surely an important victory as it put an end to the Latin power in the Peloponnese.¹⁴⁰

Surprisingly, the defeat did not turn entirely unpleasant for the Tocco. Carlo's diplomacy succeeded in covering the catastrophic outcome of his military loss by arranging the marriage of his fraternal niece Magdalena (called by the Greeks Theodora) to the son of Emperor Manuel II, Constantine Dragases, who at that time was yet to become the last Byzantine emperor. According to the marriage arrangement of July 1, 1428, the Tocco possessions in the Peloponnese, already lost to the Byzantines, were counted as Magdalena's dowry. Thus the Tocco lord, even though militarily defeated, entered the imperial family, keeping, at the same time, the possibility to interfere in the Peloponnese still open.

The final success of Carlo's diplomacy did not last for long – only a year and a half after the conclusion of her marriage, in November 1429, Magdalena-Theodora suddenly died.¹⁴¹ Neither Carlo lived long enough to see the short duration of his last diplomatic maneuver, as he himself had died before his niece, most probably in July 1429.¹⁴² A year after his death, the most important center of his power in Epiros, the town of Ioannina, was already in the Ottoman hands, while the rest of his domain plunged into turmoil triggered by the inheritance fight that broke out between Carlo's illegitimate sons and his fraternal nephew and legitimate heir, Carlo II.

The short duration of Carlo's diplomatic success in the Peloponnese, as well as the family war for inheritance that started after his death, cast a shadow on triumphalistic accounts of Carlo's power, commonly found

in the family's memory of the subsequent centuries. His frequent military clashes with his neighbors – the Albanians, his own uncle, other Latins, and, finally, the Greeks – may have expanded the family's power deep into Epiros and the Peloponnese, and his rule may have reinforced the family's important political alliances, ultimately upgrading their rank and dignity. Yet there is no doubt that this success was 'artificial,' and the best proof in support of this conclusion can be found in the quick destruction of the Tocco power in Epiros. The main explanation of this failure, should be searched, of course, in the Ottoman advance which no Christian force of the time could truly halt, and to which Carlo himself largely contributed by encouraging and inviting Ottoman raids for his own political purposes. Another, equally important reason for the quick destruction of Carlo's achievements can be found among the so called 'internal' factors, namely his contradictory methods of government that ranged between a regular institutional progression, political forgery and open usurpation. In addition, Carlo's power operated upon 'eclectically' structured trappings ranging between the symbols of the Byzantine imperial tradition, the feudal structure of the Kingdom in Naples, and the 'mercantile' philosophy of the Florentine 'ancient' Guelph and Humanistic elites. Carlo's personal identity was deeply rooted in Catholicism and his Italian Latinity (situationally called 'Frankish'), and this identity too was well reflected in his administration, religious, cultural and personal affairs. Moreover, even though Carlo's power implied extensive interaction with his 'international' neighbors, it remained just a local phenomenon, ultimately serving short-term policies and incidental circumstances that were rarely properly justified. Had Carlo had the opportunity to read *The Prince*, written several decades after his death by the famous kinsman of a Niccolò Machiavelli who had witnessed the last stage of his rule in Greece, he would have known that the only possibility to keep the power perceived and organized in the manner above described would be – to live forever.¹⁴³

¹²⁴ Carlo's title of Despot was mentioned by several Greek narrative sources, e.g. Georgios Sphrantzes, *Memorii 1401–1477*, ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest: Academia Republicii Socialiste România, 1966), book 16, chapter 1, page 24 (the more recent edition, *Georgio Sfrantze: Cronaca*, ed. Riccardo Maisano [Roma: Academia nazionale dei Lincei, 1990]) will not be quoted here because of its occasionally unclear reference to the Tocco lineage mentioned there); *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, chronicle 34: 3 (ad ann. 1428), 262–5; *ibid.*, chronicle 34: 4 (ad ann. 1430), 266. Cf. reference to Carlo as ὁ δούκας ὁ δεσπότης, *CroToc*, 9, 1, 2179, 384. For Carlo's use of this title, see the letter of Matteo de

Filippo de Bardi to Nerio Acciaiuoli (October 11, 1424), in Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, no. 1046, 366–7 (“monsignor lo despota”). For the official vestment of despots in Byzantium, Pseudo-Kodinos, *De officialibus*, 99–101.

¹²⁵ Chrysostomides, “Italian Women,” 131–2. Cf. Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 107.

¹²⁶ ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 5, perg. no. 175 (in Arta): “Dominus Carolus Dei Gratia Despotus Romaniae,” and ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 5, perg. no. 176 (in Ioannina): “Serenissimus et inclytus Dominus Carolus Dei Gratia despotus Romaniae.” In 1424, the Ragusans, however, referred to Carlo also as “despotus Romanie,” e.g. DA, *Cons. Min.* 3, fol. 75r. Some modern scholars do not distinguish between the two titles, e.g. Patetta, “Argirobullo di Tommaso Paleologo,” 264. Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 80–4. Cf. *op. cit.* 71–2. A more detailed elaboration of the political concepts upon which Carlo predominantly grafted his rulership was presented in my paper at the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies in London, see abstract Nada Zečević, “The image of Carlo I Tocco as a ruler: features, models, reception,” *Proceedings of the 21st International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (August 21–26, 2006), vol. 3, 26–7. For the political implications of this title in relation to Epiros, see Stauridou-Zaphraka, “The Political Ideology of the State of Epiros,” 311–323.

¹²⁷ For the title used by Thomas I Angelos in 1313 and Niccolò Orsini in 1320, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum sive Acta et Diplomata res Venetas, Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia*, eds. Georg Martin Thomas, ed. (Venezia: Sumptibus Societatis, 1880), vol. 1, no. 76, p. 136, and *op. cit.*, no. 81, pp. 168–70; see comments by Longnon, *Empire Latin*, 283; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 49–58; 71–2; Andreas Kiesewetter, “I principi di Taranto e la Grecia (1294–1373/83),” *Archivio storico Pugliese* 54 (2001): 53–100.

¹²⁸ On the details and the chronology of Centurione's confrontation with the Byzantines, see Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 182–8. For the Tocco title of Despot, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 5, perg. nos. 175 (May 8, 1418) and 176 (June 21, 1418). Also, Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1698 (June 13, 1418), 165–6; AAV, 2: 10, no. 2255 (July 13, 1418), 37. On the chronology and circumstances of Olivieri's government, Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 89; *id.*, “Il Ducato,” 614; Schmitt, “Zur Geschichte der Stadt Glarenza,” 105–9.

¹²⁹ On the nature of government in Latin Greece and Latin interaction with the local structures, see Lock, *The Franks*, 185–8; 190. For the Tocco practice, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 5, perg. no. 176 (June 21, 1418 in Ioannina): [...] “Juxta formam, et mores, ac consuetudines Patriae [i.e. of Naples]” [...] Carlo's limitation of the local instances is confirmed by the letter of Sinan-pasha to the Ioanniniotes dated to 1431, MM 3, no. 1, 283, which announced the Ottoman restoration of the “Roman [i.e. Greek] courts.” For Carlo's perception of “ligius,” see Carlo's act issued on November 3, 1428, in Typaldos, “Εἰς ἄγνωστος σύγγαμπος,” 527–8, with regard to Jacob Areiano. More on the Neapolitan consuetudines, Carla Vetere, *Le Consuetudini di Napoli: Il testo e la tradizione* (Napoli: Carlone, 1999). For a Ragusan evidence of how the Tocco used the concept of the *familiaritas*, see DA, *Cons. Min.* 3, fols. 75r; 91v, 94r, 124v. Francesca's donation to Guliano Zaota in 1428, MM, 3, 253, equalled (probably even translated) this term with the Greek expression “οἰκεῖος” (“οἰκίδον”). For the Byzantine perception of this concept, see Jadran Ferluga, “La ligesse dans l'Empire Byzantin: contribution à l'étude de la féodalité à Byzance,” *ZRVI* 7 (1961): 95–123. The Tocco chronicler even referred to Carlo's loyal men of the

Neapolitan origin as ‘archons’ (e.g. *Matheo de Landulpho*, in *CroToc*, 1, 28, 378–80, 248). Also, *MM*, 3, no. 12 (May 28, 1428), 253. An apparent example of the chronicler’s glorification of the “western” chivalric values can be found in his description of Carlo’s brother Leonardo, e.g. *CroToc*, 13, 1, 3325–38, 444, and 13, 2, 3339–67, 468–70. For Carlo’s hunting activities which might have reflected not just his own preference, but, also the traditional practice observed by the Greek Despots of Epiros, see *CroToc*, 13, 7, 3462–70, 476. For Carlo’s preference of Italian horses, see his letter to Nerio Acciauli, in *Hiotes*, Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα, vol. 2, p. 621, and Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 64 (September 7, 1424), p. 284. For a modern review of hunting in the region, see Thekla Sansaridou-Hendrickx, “Το κυνήγι στην Άρτα τον 14^ο–15^ο αιώνα,” *Ekklesiastikos Pharos* 82: 2 (2000): 156–60.

¹³⁰ Carlo’s reported “tolerance” of the Orthodox circles is challenged by a hint of the letter of Sinan-pasha to the Ioanniniotes dated to 1431, *MM* 3, no. 1, 283, where the Ottomans promised them the restoration of their church life to the situation that had been in existence before the rule of the Tocco. For Carlo’s designation of his subjects’ “barbarian” faith, see Carlo’s letter to Nerio Acciauli, *Hiotes*, Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα, vol. 2, 621–2 (November 20, 1424) and Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 65, 284–5. For Antonio Acciauli, see Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 59 (*Idae* of October, 1426, Rome “apud Sanctos Apostolos”), 280. Also, see his letter to Nerio di Donato Acciauli, in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 60 (December 16, 1423), 280–1, and n. 1 for one other letter by Antonio. For Carlo’s direct contacts with the Pope, see Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 3, 174, Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1693 (May 24, 1418), 164, and *AAV* 2: 10, no. 2247, 24; Carlo’s autograph letter dated September 23 1425, in K. Mertzios, “Μία ανέκδοτος ἐπιστολή τοῦ Καρόλου Α΄ τοῦ Τόκκου πρὸς τὸν Δόγην Βενετίας γραφεῖσα ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων τὸ 1425,” in *Akten des IX Byzantinisten Kongress (Thessalonike 1953)*, vol. 2 (Athens: Μυρτίδη, 1956), 57–8. For the Catholic rite on the islands, see Ntinis Konomos, *Εκκλησίες και μοναστήρια στη Ζάκυνθο* (Athens: Μουζάκη, 1967), 180; Foka-Kosmetatos, *Το κάστρο*, 61.

¹³¹ ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta* 5, perg. no. 176 (June 21, 1418 in Ioannina) defining the procedure of signing the document being done “Juxta formam et mores ac Consuetudines Patriae [i.e. of Naples].” ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta* 5, perg. no. 174 (April 28, 1418, in Arta) was written by “Cicco Forense” of Brindisi; *ibid.*, perg. no. 175 (May 8, 1418 in Ioannina), and perg. no. 176 (June 21, 1418 in Ioannina) mentions an “Antonio Latibario” (“Lachibario”), an Italian who identified himself also through his Greek places of origin and actual residence (“Antonio Latibario di Galipolli habitante in Kefalonia”). The letter of Matteo de Filippo de Bardi to Nerio Acciauli (October 11, 1424 in Ioannina), in Rao, *Il carteggio Acciauli*, no. 1046, 366–7, mentions a Luigi as the public notary in Ioannina at the time. Notary Cicco Forense, decorated the initial “I” (“In nomine Domini [...]”), while Latibario’s “I” was simple but followed by a more elaborated “n.” Cicco’s symbolic invocation, however, was less elaborated than Latibario’s. On late-Byzantine imperial acts that contained the *data topica* as the result of a western influence, Božidar Ferjančić, “Notes de diplomatique Byzantine,” *ZRVI* 10 (1967), 270–1. These quoted *formulae* completely resemble those of the Angevin documents issued to the Tocco during the first half of the fourteenth century. Apart from these common *formulae*, Carlo’s donation to Egidio di Leonessa (August 30, 1425), in Patetta, “Argirobullia di Tommaso Paleologo,” 265,

employed the formula *in pheudum et nomine pheudj*. All the three Tocco documents from 1418 contain six or seven signatures of witnesses who, judging by their self-identifications, were mostly of Italian origin (perg. no. 174: "Fratres Perentium, Angelus Vuolgo de Palermo, Iudex Nicolaus de Podio, Mattheus de Landulfo de Neapoli, Robertus de Flore de Neapoli, Loysius de Podio"; perg. no. 175: "Johannes de Buxo [i.e. Bua – on his identity see Zečević, "The Italian Kin," 240–2], "Leo Anassango de Kefalonia, Simione Caldarone de Neapoli, Mattheus Peronte de Kefalonia, Antonius Anastasus"; perg. no. 176: "Johannes Ventimilia, Leo Anastango de Kefalonia, Scipio Caldarione de Neapoli, Nicolaus de Ditto Gullus de Apulea," one of the Perente brothers, "Anthonius de Kefalonia, Vicentius Vuastarij"). During the last stage of Carlo's rule, several documents issued by Carlo's chancellery were sealed with a pendent seal, e.g. his donation to Egidio Leonessa (August 30, 1425), ed. Pateta, "Argirobullā di Tommaso Paleologo," 267 ("nostrum privilegium fierij et pendentis nostro Sigillo lussimus communiri").

¹³² An indication about Carlo's communication in Greek can be found in AAV 2:7, no. 849 bis (December 31, 1400). Also, see Francesca's donation as from MM, 3, no. 12 (May 28, 1428), 253–4. On the Byzantine diplomatic practices of the time, see Božidar Ferjančić, "O despotskim poveljama [About despotic titles]," ZRVI 4 (1956):91. On the procedure of the translation of Greek acts coming from the late-Byzantine imperial chancellery, Božidar Ferjančić, "Notes de diplomatique" 271, and *ibid.*, n. 89. Francesca's act contains an important expression ὁ παρὸν μας ὀρισμός, which can also be found in the *prostagma* of despot John Uglješa to the Atonite monastery of Kutlumush c. 1358 (for further reference, see Božidar Ferjančić, "O despotskim poveljama" 108, n. 77). On the expression ἡ βασιλεία μου, Ferjančić, "O despotskim poveljama," 95–6. For the practice of repeating the word ὀρισμός three times in different cases in this particular period, see the examples of *argyrobouloi horismoi* issued by Theodore II Palaiologos, MM, 3, 173 sq; MM, 5, 171–4; Lampros, *PP*, 4, 106–9; Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 114–5, and *id.*, "Notes de diplomatique," 280. The disposition of Francesca's act, however, contains an expression "γράφωμεν καὶ ὀρίζομεν," which enables its classification as an administrative act (thus different from the *argyrobouloi horismoi*). Ferjančić, "Notes de diplomatique," 267–8, noted a case of a Greek act dated according to the western style as early as the mid-fourteenth century. Cf. the "Prostagma of John VIII from June 1428," in *Archives de l'Athos: Actes de Kutlumus*, ed. Paul Lemerle (Paris: Lethielleux, 1988), no. 45, pp. 157–8, where the *datatio* consisted of the year according to the era of Christ's birth, month, indiction; *ibid.*, prostagma of John VIII (December 1446) dated with month and indiction. For this Angevin usage of the quoted donation formulae, see ASN, ATM, *Privilegi, busta* 1, perg. 1 (August 10, 1322 in Naples). Zečević, "Brotherly Love," 155, n. 54. Most charters issued by Carlo 1418–1429 also contain the same devotion formula as quoted here. As widely known, the *Dei gratia* was common for western charters. "The letter of Francesco Sforza to Thomas Palaiologos (October 2, 1460)," in *PP*, 4, 244, shows that the westerners of the mid-fifteenth century differentiated well between the *Dei gratia* and the common Greek formula (correctly translated in this letter as *in christo deo pio despoti*). A similar formulation in the Greek manner can be found in the Genoese reference to Anna of Savoy, in G. Bertolotto, "Nuova serie di documenti sulle relazioni di Genova coll'impero bizantino," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria* 28 (1898) (September 5, 1341): 545: "excellentissima domina Anna in Christo Deo fidelis imperatrix [...]." Cf. the 'regular' signature formula of Theodore II in his *argyroboulos horismos* to George Gemistos (November 1427), MM 3, 173.

¹³³ The most evident example of the Tocco “cosmopolitanism” as insinuated by the chronicle can be found in *CroToc*, 1, 11, 136–7, 230, and accepted by Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 32. Benjamin Hendrickx–Thekla Sansaridou Hendrickx, “The military organization and the army of the Despotate of the Tocco,” *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* 20 (2009): 215–231. An inscription recording the Tocco favor to a local Greek family of Michael Therianos (Μιχαὴλ βοηθῶδα τοῦ Θεριανοῦ) can be found in L. Polites, “Ἡ κτητορική ἐπιγραφή τῆς μονῆς Ἀγίας Παρασκευῆ Βίτσας καὶ ἡ χρονολογία τῆς,” *Ἑλληνικά* 20 (1967): 422–5. According to Polites, *op. cit.* 426, the epigraph originated between September 1, 1413 and August 31, 1414. The Therianoι of Ioannina later changed their family name into Μίσιος. Some hints about the locals employed in the middle strata of the Tocco government, *CroToc*, 3, 13, 833–9, 282 (archon Ἰπικέρνην, the inhabitant of Leukas and his brother as soldiers); Hiotes, *Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα*, vol. 2, 228, n. 61, based on the *Libro degli ordini e terminazioni del governo Veneto* of the *archivio di Zakynthos*, p. 106, which quoted a charter issued in Zakynthos in 1403 (a “Φράγγιλος τῶν Πελαγονῶν,” Carlo’s courtier and the *castellanus* of the fort of St. Stephanos). Hiotes’ document refers to Frangilo’s parents, Nicholas and Eudoce, the daughter of a Niccolò “τῶν Γαλατῶν” as the Tocco servitors in the time of Carlo’s father, Leonardo I.

¹³⁴ For chronology and prosopography related to Carlo’s brother and his offspring, see *Appendix I*, 179. On Algasio and his brother Leonardo, see Zečević, “The Italian Kin,” 244–247. This Leonardo was the same person mentioned by the Tocco chronicler (*CroToc*, 9, 20–21, 2597–2628, 412–4) for his marriage with the daughter of Nerata Balšić, see *PLP*, vol. 12, 3–4. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 190, obviously misunderstanding the Chronicle’s reference to Carlo’s nephew Leonardo (the son of Guillelmo), wrongly assumed that this person was Carlo, the son of Leonardo II and the legitimate heir of Carlo I, “originally [...] called Leonardo.” As from ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta 5*, perg. no. 177 (November 30, 1421 in Naples), Giovanotto di Tocco di Napoli was documented to have been on Kefalonia as a procurator of *Tubia Tocco*, while Tubia was mentioned in ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta 5*, perg. no. 175 (May 8, 1418). ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, book 1, no. 1, fol. 5r, considers that even the father of Leonardo and Algasio might have been sheltered by Carlo some time after this one had allegedly rebelled against King Ladislas; today, however, this information cannot be fully verified due to the lack of any documentary evidence that could shed more light to such an event. A few indications about Algasio’s troubles with the Queen in Naples, can be found in ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, perg. no. 44 (October 29, 1420) and *ibid.*, perg. no. 45 (July 20, 1425). On this, Zečević, “The Italian Kin,” 245–7, nn. 36 and 41. del Vasto, *Baroni nel tempo*, 20, dated his return to Naples in 1420. On Algasio’s service to Carlo, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta 5*, perg. no. 176; *CroToc*, 6, 12, 1756, 350. On Giovanella, married to one of the Spata, see Hopf, *GG*, 2, 106; Zečević, “The Italian Kin,” 238–244. As from ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta 5*, perg. no. 175 (May 8, 1418), Angela was Tubia’s widow, and Carlo married her to his serviceman Jacob Ariano.

¹³⁵ *CroToc*, 9, 11, 2499–2501, 404; Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2, pp. 274–86; Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, pp. 358; 363; 366. A document in *MM*, 5, no. 11 (August 7, 1422), 251–3, containing the privileges granted by Antonio Acciaiuoli to the Florentine merchants, shows that the presence of the Florentines in this region was neither accidental nor occasional, but rather an outcome of a more focused Florentine interest in the region.

On the Florentines at Carlo's court, see Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, nos. 56 (December 14, 1423), 274–5; 57 (December 13, 1423), 276–7; 58 (December 16, 1423), 278–9; no. 58 (December 16, 1423), 278–9; no. 62 (May 12, 1424), 282–3; no. 63, 283; no. 64 (May 12, 1424), 284, and no. 65 (November 20, 1424), 284–5. A letter of Antonio Baldovinetti to Nerio Acciaiuoli from September 30, 1423, in Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, no. 1019, 358, indicates that several other Florentines – his friends – intended to visit Carlo's domain. For the connections of Carlo's guests with some Humanist intellectuals, see Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 57 (May 12, 1424), 276; Hiotes, Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα, vol. 2, 187–9; Letter of Nanni Strozzi to Nerio Acciaiuoli (July 25, 1424),” in Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, no. 1043, 365; the letter of Matteo de Filippo de Bardi to Nerio di Donato (October 11, 1424 in Ioannina), in Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, no. 1046, 366–7. On a Niccolò Machiavelli who spent some time at Carlo's court during the second half of 1428, see Hopf, *GG*, 2, 106, n. 74, and Romanos, Περὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου, 172. Similarly perceived was Antonio Acciaiuoli, the bishop of Kefalonia, by Pope Martin V, as from Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2, no. 59 (Idae of October, 1426): “cui, de litterarum scientia, vite munditia, honestate morum, spirutualium providential et temporalium circumspectione, aliisque multiplicium virtutum donis [...] perhibentur.” Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976), vol. 2, 97, on the general humanists' interest into the Greek antiquities.

¹³⁶ For Ercole, *CroToc*, 7, 2, 1940–4, 360. For Torno, 7, 3, 1945–8, 360. For Menuino, 7, 4, 1949–54, 360–2. *CroToc*, 7, 5, 1955, 1959, 362, mentioned also Triano (Troiano) who at the time was still under age. Generally on this, see Cesare Mozzarelli – Pierangelo Schiera, *Patriziati e aristocrazie nobiliari* (Trento: Libera Università, Gruppo di teoria e storia sociale, 1978). For the Florentine perceptions of this mentality, see *The Society of Renaissance Florence: a documentary study*, ed. G. Brucker (Toronto: University of Toronto Press – the Renaissance Society of America, 1998), 129–30; Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaka: Cornell University Press, 1991²), 92–3.

¹³⁷ The endeavoring spirit of the Tocco was commented by Miller, *The Latins*, 487. For trading philosophy of the fourteenth-century Florence, see Iris Origo, *Il mercante di Prato: Francesco di Marco Datini* (Milano: Bompiani, 1958; first edition in English, London: Cape, 1957). Carlo issued his own money, the representation elements of which largely resembled the coins minted by the House of Taranto/Princes of Achaea. For a more detailed calculation of the quantities of the goods which the Ragusans extracted from Carlo's islands during his rule, Bariša Krekić, *Dubrovnik i Levant: 1280–1460* (Dubrovnik and Levant: 1280–1460) (Belgrade: Vizantološki institut SANU, 1956), 81, n. 6. More elaborate Ragusan commercial activities in the domain of Carlo Tocco seem to have started around 1392, when they were linked mainly to Kefalonia. For some examples, see DA, *Div. Cancell.*, 30, fols. 127r–127v (for Kefalonia); DA, *Div. Cancell.*, 30, fol. 36v (for Zakynthos in 1393); *Div. Cancell.*, 39, fol. 140r (for St. Maure in 1412); DA, *Div. Cancell.*, 41, fols. 179r–v; DA, *Div. Not.*, 12, fol. 243r (July 11, 1418), partly in Jorga, *Notes*, 169, n. 1; DA, *Div. Cancell.*, 41, fol. 239r (March 8, 1418); *Cons. Min.*, 2, 38v, (January 19, 1419), partly in Jorga, *Notes*, 169, and Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 651, 270, indicating that Carlo and his wife received certain presents from the Ragusans, but do not specifically link this practice with Carlo's concessions to individual merchants of the Republic. A Ragusan document in Jorga, *Notes*, 236, n. 1

(March 11, 1427), mentions that one of Carlo's sons imported lard and salted meat to Ragusa. On the rivalry between Ragusa and Venice in the Lepant see Bariša Krekić, "La navigation Ragusaine entre Venise et la Méditerranée Orientale aux X^{IV}e et X^{Ve} siècles," in *id.*, *Dubrovnik: a Mediterranean Urban Society, 1300–1600* (London: Variorum, 1997): 135–138. Zachariadou, "Marginalia," 209, connected Carlo's favor of the Ragusans with the activities of Hamza-bey, his Ottoman son-in-law and his campaign in Albania (Berat and Valona). Nicol, *The Despotate*, 193–4, considered Carlo's ill-disposition towards the Venetians mainly the result of his "volatile and untrustworthy nature" and his accidental use of military might. For the terms of Carlo's agreement with the Ragusans, Jorga, *Notes*, 266; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1660 (July 9, 1417), 156; AAV, 2: 8, no. 2183, 386–9. For Carlo's measures against the Venetians, AAV 2: 10, no. 2363 (September 1, 1419), 159. On September 1, 1423, as from Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 3, no. 91, 151–2, the Venetians also complained about some limitations Carlo imposed on their export of salt and other products from the Tocco islands.

¹³⁸ *CroToc*, 14, 7, 3646, 490; *CroToc*, 14, 12, 3730–49, 496; *CroToc*, 14, 10, 3702–3, 494; 14, 17, 3825–37, 502. Jorga, *Notes*, 451 and AAV, 2: 13, no. 3101 (March 24, 1427), 15–6. The Greek side was reported as attacking first by Chalkokondyles, book 5, ed. Bonn, p. 240, and ed. Darkó, vol. 2, p. 18. For the evidence about the Ottomans helping the Tocco and Zaccaria in their activities against the Greeks, see Jorga, *Notes*, 333, n. 4, 335 and 344. Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 16, 3–5, 24–6; Ducas, *Historia Byzantina*, p. 223, ln. 13; "La chronique brève Moréote de 1423," chapter 28 (May 22–June 5, 1423), p. 408; AAV, 2: 11, no. 2712 (April 18, 1423), 223–5; AAV, 2: 11, no. 2713 (April 18, 1423), 225–7; AAV, 2: 13, no. 3101 (March 24, 1427), 15–16 (partly published in Jorga, *Notes*, 451). On one occasion Carlo's embassy informed the Venetians that his co-operation with the Ottomans was the result of his actual vassalage to them, see AAV 2: 11, no. 2807 (August 13, 1423), 326–8. On these events, see Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 196; Bon, *La Morée*, 1, 290; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 191. For the allegations about Carlo paying the haraçi tribute and sending hostages to the Ottomans see *CroToc*, 11, 2, 3086, 448; *CroToc*, 7, 5, 1955–9, 366 (mentioning one of his illegitimate sons sent to them as hostage). Carlo's letter to Nerio Acciaiuoli di Donato in Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, no. 1029 (February 20, 1424 in Arta), 361, suggests that Carlo followed the relationship between the Greek Despotate and the Ottomans with particular attention. Some references about the Venetian considerations whether to mediate in the conflict between the Zaccaria/Tocco and the Greeks can be found in Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 83 (February 24, 1422), 127. The text of the one-year truce was published by Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 84 (February 28, 1422), 127–9. The hostilities of Carlo and Zaccaria towards the Greeks were further recorded in July 22, 1422, as from Jorga, *Notes*, 322–3, Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1849, AAV, 2: 11, no. 2610, 112–8, AAV 2: 12, no. 2865 (February 10, 1424), 24–6; AAV 2: 12, no. 2936 (July 7, 1424), 107–10; AAV 2: 12, no. 2639 (July 16, 1424), 111–5. As suggested by Hopf, *GG*, 2, 81, and Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 195, n. 5, the Venetian mediation came as the result of their plans about a wide anti-Ottoman offensive.

¹³⁹ Ἀνωκύμου πανηγυρικός εἰς Μανουὴλ καὶ Ἰωάννην Ἡ' Παλαιολόγους, (= Ἀνωκύμου πανηγυρικός) *PP*, 3, 194. Interestingly, the first time Carlo entitled himself in this manner was documented in 1418, and was written in Latin, ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 5, perg. no. 174 (April 28, 1418): "Inclitij domini Karolij dei gratia despoti Romeorum." Also, see

Hiotes, Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα, vol. 2, 620 (May 12, 1424); *ibid.*, p. 621 (September 7, 1424) and *ibid.*, 621–2 (November 20, 1424); Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, no. 1029 (February 20, 1424), 361. The same documents were published by Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, nos. 62, 64, 65, pp. 282–5. Other examples of Carlo's intitutionation as "despotus Romeorum" can be found in Patetta, "Argirobullo di Tommaso Paleologo," 264–7, Carlo's donation issued to Egidio Leonessa in Ioannina, August 30, 1425 ("Karolus Dei gratia. Despotus Romeorum"); K. Mertzios, "Trois lettres inédites de Charles Tocco en 1427, 1428 et 1432," in *Akten des XI Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongress 1958* (Munich, 1960), 353 (November 11, 1427); *ibid.*, 354 (May 5, 1427); *Id.*, "Μία ανέκδοτος ἐπιστολή," 558. Carlo's titles as mentioned in these documents led Ferjančić, *Despoti*, 83, establish the chronology of Carlo's bestowment to this position into 1422 or "even 1420." For Francesca's perception of her own position at the time (it may have been connected to Carlo's title of Despot, but not necessarily) see Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 66 (December 7, 1424), 285–6: "Dei gratia, vasilissa Romeorum." On the claims to the imperial dignity by Despots in Epiros, see Ferjančić, "O despotskim poveljama," 92 and 107. As shown by Franz Dölger – Joannes Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, vol. 1: Die Kaiserurkunden (Munich: Beck, 1968), 123, the signature "βασιλεύς τῶν Ῥωμεῶν" was the feature of the Byzantine imperial chrysoboulloi. Significantly, not even the despots of the imperial family, e.g. Theodore I and Theodore II ever signed in this manner but either as "πανευτυχιστάτου δεσπότης τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου κυροῦ Θεοδώρου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου" (Theodore I in 1405; more on this document in Ferjančić, "O despotskim poveljama," 98), or as "Θεόδωρος [...] εὐσεβῆς δεσπότης Παλαιολόγος ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος" (Theodore II in 1419; more on this in Ferjančić, "O despotskim poveljama," 99), or just "Δεσπότης ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος" (the horismos of Constantine XI from March 1440, as from *PP*, 4, 15). Similar was also the signature of the chancery of Andronikos, the last despot of Thessaloniki (1408–1423): "ὁ δεσπότης" (Ferjančić, "O despotskim poveljama," 104, n. 62a). Jorga, *Notes*, 271 (January 27, 1418) quotes a document in which Carlo was referred to as the Duke of Kefalonia in this period. The Venetian and Ragusan hints about the "irregular" nature of Carlo's title of Despot can be found in Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1693 (May 23, 1418), 164: ["the Duke of Kefalonia" – sic, N. Z.) "qui se intitulat Karloum dispotum Romeorum." The same content was published under May 24, 1418 in Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 3, no. 730, 174, and AAV, 2: 10, no. 2247, 24, long after Carlo started to entitle himself Despot of the Romans, the Venetians and the Ragusans still referred to him as to "the Duke of Kefalonia," see Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1867 (February 4, 1423), 199, and DA, *Cons. Min.* 2, fol. 38v (also in Jorga, *Notes*, 169 and Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 651, 270). However, during 1420s, Carlo's neighbors did refer to him as Despot – always in the connection with his power of the towns of Arta and Ioannina ("Despot of Arta" "Despot of Ioannina"), and never implying his power of the "Romans" (Greeks). For the examples, see Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 1871 (February 24, 1423), 200; no. 1873 (February 28, 1423), 200–1; no. 1901 (August 13, 1423), 208, no. 1904 (September 1, 1423), 209; no. 1946 (July 7, 1424), 209; 2051 (March 24, 1427), 242; no. 2065 (July 24, 1427) (the same document in AAV 2: 13, no. 3121, 36–9), 244–5; 2092 (June 14, 1428), 250 (the same in AAV 2: 13, no. 3154, 69–71); AAV 2: 13, no. 3152 (before June 14, 1428), 68. Also, DA, *Cons. Min.* 5, fol. 75r (June 22, 1423) and *ibid.*, fol. 94r (October 14, 1423).

¹⁴⁰ Ἀγωνύμου πανηγυρικός, *PP* 3, 195–8; Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 16, 1, 13–19, 24. On June 3, 1426, as from Jorga, *Notes*, 422 and AAV, 2: 12, no. 3048, 246, Carlo had been informed of the preparations undertaken by the Byzantine Emperor to attack him. As from Jorga,

Notes, 451 and AAV, 2: 13, no. 3101 (March 24, 1427), 15–6, the conflict had already started before this date. For a more detailed chronology of these events (Winter 1426–7), Ivan Djurić, *Sumrak Vizantije: vreme Jovana VIII Paleologa 1392–1448* (The crepuscule of Byzantium: the epoch of John VIII Palaiologos 1392–1448) (Zagreb: Naprijed, 1989, second edition), 228; Schmitt, “Zur Geschichte der Stadt Glarenza,” 114. Cf. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 191. For different opinions about the beginning of this conflict, see Bon, *La Morée*, 1, 291 (the beginning of 1426); Schirò, “Il Ducato,” 616, n. 87 (mid-1426). Božidar Ferjančić, “Medjusobni sukobi poslednjih Paleologa 1425–1449” (Mutual conflicts of the last Palaiologoi 1425–1449), *ZRVI* 16 (1975): 142, and Djurić, *Sumrak Vizantije*, 229, noted the importance of the support Despot Theodore II received from Constantinople in this period. For Leontares see Ducae, Michaelis Ducae Nepotis, *Historia Byzantina*, in CSHB, ed. Immanuel Bekker (Bonn: Weber, 1834), 79, 8, and 133, 15. Djurić, *Sumrak Vizantije*, 230, considers that the battle took place at the beginning of 1428. For a more detailed evaluation of the battle at Echynades, see Zakythenos, *Le despotate*, 1, 206.

¹⁴¹ Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 16, 3, 28–34, 24; *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, chronicle 34: 3 (July 1428), 262–5; Pseudo-Phrantzes sive Macarios Melissenos *Chronicon 1258–1481* in *Gregorii Sphrantzes Memorii 1401–1477*, ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest: Academia Republicii Socialiste România, 1966), 2, 1 (128), 266, 16–25; 2, 2, (130a), 268, 1–4; Chalkokondyles, book 5, ed. Bonn, p. 240, and ed. Darkó, vol. 2, 19, with no precise chronological reference to the event. About the chronology of the marriage arrangement, Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 1, 17–25, 24. For a different identification of Magdalena (Theodora), cf. Hiotes, *Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα*, vol. 2, genealogical table, κ'. On the details of Magdalena's dowry which, apart from the compromised region, might have included a sum of money too, see Arabantinos, *Χρονογραφία*, vol. 1, 1, 160; Djurić, *Sumrak Vizantije*, 230–1. Magdalena's death was mentioned roughly by Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 20, 9, Ins. 33, pp. 46–4, p. 48. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, chronicle 34: 3 (July 1428), 262–5. Ioannis Vassiss, “Ein unediertes Gedicht anlässlich des Todes von Theodora, erster Gemahlin des Despoten Konstantinos (XI) Palaiologos,” *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 49 (1999): 181–189. See Appendix I, 180 on her burial place.

¹⁴² Only few sources of the time mention Carlo's death: *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, chronicle 34: 4 (1430, July?), 266, Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 20, 6, Ins. 25–6, 46, and Chalkokondyles, book 5, ed. Bonn, p. 236, and ed. Darkó, vol. 2, 15. More on the date and cause of his death in Appendix I, 179–80.

¹⁴³ While the earlier historiography was largely affirmative in evaluating Carlo's rulership, e.g. Konstantinos Mekios, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἠπείρου* (Cairo: Εὐαγγελίδου, 1909), 90, recent scholars expressed more critical opinions, especially with regard to his government methods, see Schirò, “Prolegomeni I,” 106; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 190; 193–195 who considered Carlo's power an “illusion.” The conclusions about the Tocco rule as ‘segregational’ or ‘colonial’ can be debated from the standpoints of the modern theory of interaction; the examples demonstrated in this chapter lead me accept the opinion of Nicol, *The Despotate*, 215, according to which during Carlo I “the unions between the Greek East and the Latin West” in this particular region were such that “neither country was the richer by the fusion of two cultures.” For a different opinion, see Luttrell, “Vonitza,” 131. For Macchiavelli's perception of ruling a foreign land, see Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, eds. Quentin Skinner and Russell Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), chapter 3, p. 8.

Chapter III
FROM EPIROS TO NAPLES
(c. 1429–c. 1500)

Back to the Heptanese

Modern historians nowadays see the fall of Ioannina to the Ottomans in 1430 as an outcome of a greater offensive which was marked by the Ottomans' siege of Constantinople (1422), their devastation of the Hexamilion in the Peloponnese (1423), and their conquest of Thessaloniki (1430). Somewhat different was the opinion of the earlier researchers who perceived the loss of Ioannina as a direct consequence of Carlo's death and the 'weakness' of his heir, Carlo II (1429–1448). By the time of this one's death (c. 1448), the family had already lost all possessions in Epiros and their domain reduced to the size it had had upon the family's initial establishment in Greece. The harm of the loss was thus attributed to Carlo II, who was also blamed for the final Ottoman destruction of the Tocco power that came in 1479.¹⁴⁴

Of course, modern scholarship today knows well that it would be an exaggeration to put all the guilt on Carlo II. Since the second half of the fourteenth century, the Ottoman spread across the Balkans was of such a scale that even the rulers stronger than Carlo II could not avoid it. Besides, Carlo's chances to get some support in his neighborhood during the final decade of his rule were weak. His most powerful neighbor, the Republic of Venice, was looking to avoid an open confrontation with the Ottomans, while other regional lords and the once mighty universal Byzantine Empire had already become Ottoman tributaries. The situation in Italy was no better. The ancient tensions between the Angevins and the Aragon dynasty revived since the late 1420s, when Alfonso of Aragon and Louis II (later also René of Anjou) contested as legitimate heirs to the throne of Queen Joanna II (1414–1435) in Naples. The rivalry lasted long and until its final resolution with the succession of Alfonso V of Aragon (King in Naples 1442–1458), it involved not just the remaining Angevin resources in Naples, but also other interested parties from the entire peninsula, including the Papacy (esp. Pope Martin V, 1417–1431), the

powerful Visconti and Sforza families from the North, and the most prominent southern families such as the Caracciolo and the Orsini.¹⁴⁵

The new leader of the Tocco in Greece, Carlo II, was the fraternal nephew of Carlo I. His succession was regulated by the Neapolitan inheritance practice which required the transfer of the family authority and domain only through primogeniture in the vertical line of one's legitimate offspring. Justifying his succession with this principle, Carlo II claimed all rights his uncle's illegitimate sons could not enjoy. Despite this, the sons of Carlo I still expected their share of the inheritance, alleging that their father did leave them a portion of the family property through his last will that later disappeared. One other party also aspired to a share – Carlo's widow Francesca who held Kefalonia at the time and attempted to keep Vonitsa that represented a part of her dowry.¹⁴⁶ Elaborately accounting the special favor Carlo II had enjoyed from his uncle, as well as his aptness for the duties of rulership, the family propaganda backed the legitimate heir and supported his side in the family conflict that broke almost immediately upon the death of Carlo I.¹⁴⁷

The conflict's nature and the detailed chronology of its early stage are not entirely clear, but it is certain that it soon turned into a real war. The narrative sources of the time suggest that the hostilities broke out when the natural sons of Carlo I attacked Ioannina together with the Ottomans. The account of George Sphrantzes (Phrantzes) confirmed that the hostilities existed on March 26, 1430, while the Venetian evidence on the Ottoman attacks to the portions of the domain held by Carlo II in 1433 suggests that the conflict must have lasted for, at least, the next three years. According to the Venetians, Carlo was too young to adequately resist his cousins, for which reason he was easily captured by his cousins' Ottoman allies. Then, by the first half of 1436, the Italian humanist visitor to Carlo's court, Cyriacus of Ancona, reported on the parties as being in peace. His account mentioned that even prior to the conflict's resolution Carlo maintained communication with his rival cousins Menuno and Torno, while later that year, he annotated as having seen Menuno's son Giovanotto at the court of Carlo II. After this date we find no source reference on the hostilities among the relatives, which suggests that the Tocco family war must have already been settled before Cyriacus' visit to Greece in 1436.¹⁴⁸

Most likely, the conflict between the relatives ended in a compromise. Ioannina had already been lost to the Ottomans, so Carlo II established

his capital in Arta, which still revived the ancient ruling practice of the Angeloi Komnenoi Doukai Despots. His cousins took the parts of Akarania and the family domains in the western Peloponnese. Francesca, who sided with Carlo II during the dispute, kept the Tocco 'ancestral' land on the Ionian islands, independently governing Leukas and Kefalonia; she might have also succeeded in returning Vonitsa as well.¹⁴⁹

The fragmentation of the Tocco domain after the death of Carlo I reflects well several important changes in the family's structure. Before the dispute, their authority, power and material assets had always been distributed through the vertical descending line of their legitimate lineage, as was required by the principle of primogeniture. A legitimate heir acted as the master of the entire domain, and was free to alienate some of the domain's parts only temporarily and conditionally. The 'pattern' which appeared after the dispute between Carlo's heirs, however, shows the prevalence of horizontal inheritance bonds, those that allowed the junior kinsmen of one generation, even the illicit ones, to actively participate in the distribution of the family power and active independent government of the assets they received.¹⁵⁰

Apart from the new patterns of the domain's division, the family had to face some new political realities, too. The presence of the Ottomans in Epiros was now imminent and this generation of the Tocco had to confront them on a regular basis. For this, the family needed strong alliances, but this was more difficult than ever. Formally, Carlo II was in a close affiliation with the Venetians who recognized him as their patrician in March 1433. This relationship was directly prompted by his aunt Francesca, who, during Carlo's captivity by the Ottomans, openly asked the Venetian help for his liberation. The Venetians, from their side, considered this an opportunity to be directly involved in the Tocco domain which they had claimed long before the Tocco arrival to Greece. For this reason, they accepted to mediate in Carlo's liberation from the rival coalition, offering him asylum in case of a final Ottoman strike. The Venetians, however, never engaged in a direct military conflict on the side of the Tocco lord, which is why Carlo eventually had to find other ways of alleviating the Ottoman pressure elsewhere – one that eventually worked was his alliance with them.¹⁵¹

The Venetians justified their failure to militarily aid Carlo II with their policy of avoiding the confrontations with the Ottomans. Yet, by delaying arms and soldiers to Carlo II, the Venetians also opted for a rapid collapse

of his domain which they would, then, easily take over. This position is confirmed by the Signoria's instruction to their *baiulus* of Corfu from July 6, 1430, which required that, in case of any future Ottoman attack to the Tocco domain, neither Francesca nor Carlo II could be given any concrete military help, nor could they count on the Venetian annual provision of six hundred ducats which they had required on some earlier occasion. Instead, they could only be granted an unspecified personal 'favor' and a *salvus conductus* for only two years, while, in return, they had to promise an unconditional transfer of the islands and Vonitsa to the Venetians.¹⁵²

A relative lack of reference to Carlo's domain in the sources between 1436 and 1448 suggests that Carlo still managed to alleviate the pressure without the Venetian help. Most probably, this success was due to the fact that the Ottomans focused on other points in the Balkans, most importantly the Byzantine capital that fell to them in 1453, Serbia (1459) and Bosnia (1463). Other parties in the Tocco neighborhood were also engaged with their own situations and this too had an effect to the relative stability of Carlo's domain during the early 1440s: between 1437 and 1442, the Palaiologoi rulers of the Despotate of Morea were busy settling their own internal dissensions, while the Byzantines, already pressed by the Ottomans, also strived from an internal dispute between the supporters of the Florentine council that proposed the union of the Orthodox with the Catholics while the radical Orthodox stream refuted this possibility.¹⁵³

To Carlo II, the detention of the pressures on his domain opened a prospect of stabilizing not just his political position, but his finances too. In doing so, he continued his uncle's policy of favoring Ragusan merchants in his domain. This, naturally, limited the influence of the Venetian merchants whose complaints on abuses and bans became more frequent in their communication with the *Signoria*. To reinforce this change, Carlo II allied with the 'Catalans,' Italians loyal to the Aragon rulers of Sicily and Naples whose men had traditionally been notorious for their frequent and volatile incursions. The Ragusans confirm that this alliance was effective up to a point that it affected even Carlo's subjects and favorites too. On August 31, 1436, for instance, a Ragusan pharmacist, *Paulus de Camerino*, a representative of another pharmacist, *Joannanes Richi*, complained to the authorities of his metropolis about "Bernardo de Villamaria de Barzelona, miles piratha (Admiral Vilamarin, the famous commander of the Catalan corsairs in the Eastern Mediterranean – N. Z.)," who had attacked Richi in the waters of Carlo's domain ("gulf of

Arta”) some time earlier the same year. Richi’s goods were soon returned to their owner, but only after a *gentilome* of the *despoto* of Arta [Carlo II – N. Z.], *Jacobus Rossus*, contacted Vilamarin, bought the booty at a lower price, and returned it to the merchant – a clear evidence that the Tocco lord kept good personal links with the Catalan perpetrator, but also that he himself could not always control his own forces.¹⁵⁴

By the early 1440s, the Ragusan merchants were, similarly as in the times of Carlo I, the most numerous and frequent commercial group in the Tocco domain. From there, they exported grain, salt, cheese, wax and raw textiles, while their imports included luxury goods such as refined textiles, spices and wine. The growth of these activities brought a significant income to both sides. The documents from 1436–7 mention several merchants working directly for Carlo II (*Kavaloropoulos*, *Dimcus Grai*) as being accredited to import merchandise from Arta to Ragusa. Some of them even resided in Ragusa or pursued more advanced forms of trade there (among them, *Dinus Armiralius*, *Dimcus Grai*, *Johannes Tubeta*). Judging from their names, one could conclude that Carlo II did not greatly involve the local Greeks into these activities and that he rather preferred to rely on the Italians. One of them was his high officer in charge with the government of Arta (*Jacobus Schroffe Rubeus*), which shows that even the Tocco entourage was involved in these activities.¹⁵⁵ Of course, the greatest benefit from this exchange came directly to the Tocco lord. A contract that the Ragusans concluded with Carlo’s *familiaris* and *procurator*, *ser Antonellus Barges*, in summer 1436, reveals the details and strategies of Carlo’s individual business: Barges was assigned to sell two thousand *tagaria* (by the measurement of Arta) of cheese and one thousand *tagaria* of millet, at a price in which 1 *tagarium* was calculated to be worth 1 ducat and 12 Venetian sous; the grain was to be delivered to the Ragusans in specified places, namely Arta, *Cerdovixa*, *Vondica* [Bonditza – N. Z.] and *Efteleia*, and it was to be transported on the Ragusan ships and under Ragusan expenses. In order to avoid a potential confusion with different measurements, the contract precisely determined that 100 *tagaria* of Arta equaled 190 *staria* of Ragusa and that the Venetian ducat consisted of 108 sous. The schedule of delivery was also specified, requiring it take place between August 1 and October 15 and the warranty in his goods located in the Ragusan depots was given by a merchant of Arta, *Dimus Mirali*.¹⁵⁶

Apart from an obvious economic advantage, Carlo’s attachment to the Ragusans opened to him some new political perspectives. Especially

important was the military and technical support he hoped to receive from Ragusa. Following the family turbulence of the early 1430s, the once 'cosmopolitan' mighty Tocco army under Carlo II was now an insignificant band. In order to revive it, between March 1 and 5, 1436, Carlo II borrowed from the Ragusan community one ship (*brigantinus*) with 16 benches. A few years later, he received from there a gift of 60 paddles, and the Ragusans permitted him to repair one cannon in their city, giving him, in addition, some gun-powder for free. These examples show, no doubt, the good will of the Ragusans, yet the small quantity of the purchase reported in the documents clearly demonstrates that this help was rather symbolic and certainly insufficient. In fact, Carlo's demands for anything more serious, such as galleons, were always rejected politely by the Ragusan officials who justified their rejections either with their own needs or with a (real) fear of the Ottomans.¹⁵⁷

The decade of peace between the late 1430s and early 1440s brought to Carlo several other important benefits. An obvious indication of his distinguished status was his title of Despot of Arta, connecting him, just like his uncle, with the ancient capital in Epiros and all traditional claims related to the imperial power there. In reality, however, his title was no more acceptable for the Greeks as was the title of Despot his uncle had used. Again, it grafted upon a specific geographic location rather than on the position of the Greek Despot in relation to the Emperor. But Byzantium was counting its final days and yet another titular abuse was the least trouble that could disturb the imperial court in Constantinople.¹⁵⁸

Why, then, did Carlo use the title of Despot of Arta? Was not it easier for him to assume the same title his uncle had already exploited (*Despotus Romaniae, Despotus Romeorum*)? It seems that with it Carlo II wanted to stress his power over the remaining parts of Epiros and that he wanted to have it recognized not so much by the Greeks but rather by his ancient suzerain, the royal throne in Naples. There, Alfonso of Aragon was just finishing his establishment at the throne, following a major challenge by another claimant, René of Anjou (1435–1442). The Aragons had been present on Sicily since 1282, so Alfonso was certainly not new to the region and his stabilization in Naples opened a prosperous era for the Kingdom. Alfonso's appropriation of the Angevin ruling legacy in Naples implied that he also assumed the royal spheres of interest across the Apennines and further in the Byzantine East. In Naples, Alfonso's power was reinforced through rigid Catholic bureaucracy. For the area of Outremer, Alfonso devised a different structure, the one that relied on

an effective military power and local allies he planned to direct against the Ottomans.¹⁵⁹

On July 14, 1437, a galleon belonging to Carlo II Tocco was recorded in the vicinity of a ship that was carrying King Alfonso by the Tocco domain in Greece. A few days later, Carlo received a royal confirmation of the status his family had previously enjoyed under the Angevins, including his actual title of Despot of Arta. Not long afterwards, his attachment to the new dynasty in Naples was additionally affirmed by his marriage with Remondina/Raymunda Ventimiglia, the daughter of Giovanni I Ventimiglia (c. 1382–d. 1473), Marquis of Gerace, who personally served the Aragons as the Grand Admiral of Sicily and Vice-King of Naples, and whose family's loyalty to the Spaniards originated since the Sicilian Vespers. To Carlo II Tocco, this marriage had several important political implications. First, after a few decades of a *de facto* independence, the family turned again towards their original suzerain, the ruler in Naples, accepting, at the same time, the new realities in which their ancient Guelph axis that had initially backed their advancement did not matter anymore. Second, this restoration of the family's relationship with the throne in Naples brought to Carlo the royal recognition of his power and rights to Epiros, which his predecessors had usurped from the Angevins.¹⁶⁰

Carlo's attachment to King Alfonso V brought to his domain a greater number of "Catalans," that is, Italian Southerners now in service of the Aragon Kingdom (e.g. *Benedictus Marchini*, *Nicola de Ansalona*, *Johannes Exarteri*, *Antonellus Catellanus familiaris magnifici domini Charoli despoti*).¹⁶¹ It is not certain, though, whether Carlo saw these men as concrete military help (as the documents from this period suggest it) because in this time his hopes were more focused on the pontifical Curia. From there, Carlo expected an extensive anti-Ottoman league which, during the early 1440s, Pope Eugene IV (1431–1447) was indeed planning with Polish, Hungarian, Serbian and Western contingents. The place of Carlo II in these plans was never clearly defined and his role in the string of events known as the Crusade of Varna (1443–1444) is not apparent in the sources. A hint that he might have been indeed involved in it is indicated in one of the Pope's letters to Carlo; its integral content, however, remains unknown as the letter has been lost. Another hint for the Tocco connection with the pontifical Crusade might come out from the fact that after the defeat of the Hungarian reaction led by Hungarian commander János Hunyadi at Kosovo Polje (October 17–20, 1448), the Ottomans immediately stormed Carlo's domain in Epiros. According to

some allegations, they did so in order to punish him for the support he had given to Hunyadi's army.

It is in the course of this Ottoman attack, which must have taken place around March 1449, that the Tocco lost Arta, the ancient Angeloi capital and the main center of the family's power in Epiros. Like his predecessor, Carlo II did not see the complete destruction of his power as he died before the final Ottoman attack on the town's walls, sometime around September 1448.¹⁶²

¹⁴⁴ October 1430 has been generally accepted as the date of the fall of Ioannina to the Ottomans. According to the horismos issued by Sinan-pasha to the townsmen of Ioannina in *MM*, 3, no. 1, 282–3, the local “minor” and “major” nobles were incited to surrender without resistance by a promise to keep the town's privileged position and even to restore some ancient freedoms allegedly limited by the Tocco. On the Ottoman advance in this period, see Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire: The Classical Age 1300–1600* (London: Phoenix, 1994), 19 and 21. Spandugino, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani*, 96; Magnò, *Estratti*, 195; Morosini, *Corsi di penna*, 84; Mekios, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἠπείρου*, 95; Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμεικτα*, vol. 2, 34. For more positive assessments of Carlo's rule see Remondini, *Estratto*, 344; Hopf, *GG*, 2, 107; Benaiteau, “Una famiglia,” 31.

¹⁴⁵ Alan Frederick Charles Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Clarendon: Oxford University Press, 1990); Margaret L. Kekewich, *René of Anjou and Fifteenth-Century Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 45–80.

¹⁴⁶ Delille, *Famille*, 31. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 198, considers that the dispute originated from the terms of the inheritance division noted in Carlo's last will. This document does not exist today and its existence was recorded on the margins of the Tocco chronicle found in the Vatican library; however, the note does not contain any reference about its content. Another similar version of the family conflict – although not explicitly mentioning Carlo's last will – can be found in Chalkokondyles, book 5, ed. Bonn, p. 236, and ed. Darkó, vol. 2, p. 15.

¹⁴⁷ About his favorable position, *CroToc*, 13, 8, 3474–77, 478. On his education on rulership *ibid.*, vv. 3479–3484, 478. Here the Tocco chronicle also suggested that Carlo II had been formally adopted by his uncle, even before the death of his father. Remondini, *Estratto*, 343, reports having personally seen certain documents in the archive of the Archbishopric of Zakynthos in which Carlo II addressed his uncle and aunt as “father and mother.”

¹⁴⁸ Chalkokondyles, book 5, ed. Bonn, p. 237–8, and ed. Darkó, vol. 2, p. 15; Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 21, 1, 8–20, 48, 430; Michael Ducas Nepos, *De Rebus Epiri*, fr. 5, chapter 1, p. 254, lns. 1–13. For the parallel Ottoman attacks, see Jorga, *Notes*, 267 (May 3, 1430); Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 2186 (June 3, 1430), 271–2; AAV, 2: 14, no. 3327, 29–40; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 2201 (June 17, 1430), 275. Menuno's letter to Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437 King of Hungary and Croatia, King of the Romans 1410–1437, and Holy Roman

Emperor 1433–1437), in Jorga, *Notes*, 318–9 (December 14, 1433) attests that the Ottomans also acted for their own interests. For the end of the hostilities, The letter of Cyriacus of Ancona “De suo itinere Astacore ad Dodoneum Orionatium,” in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 41 (13th Kalendae of June 1436), 348–9; An undated letter of Cyriacus of Ancona (after October 15, 1436), in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 42, 349–50; The letter of Cyriacus of Ancona to Georgio Ragnarolo Pisauriensi, in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, 321. For Cyriacus’ positive designation of Ercole, Nicol, *The Despotate*, 207, and *ibid.*, n. 25. An undated letter of Cyriacus of Ancona (after October 15 1436), in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 42, 349–50, referred to Menuino’s son as *Jannectum puerum*.

¹⁴⁹ An edict of Carlo II dated November 24 1431, as from Typaldos, “Εἰς ἄγνωστος σύγγαμπος,” 530, mentions Arta as the main residence of Carlo II. An undated letter of Cyriacus of Ancona (after October 15 1436), in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 42, 349–50, suggests that Menuino resided in the western Peloponnese (they met near the river of Alpheios). In the same letter Cyriacus determined “the prefecture of Memnuno” to have been Xerpinas; The letter of Cyriacus of Ancona “De suo itinere Astacore ad Dodoneum Orionatium,” in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 41 (13th Kalendae of June 1436), 348–9, indicates Torno Tocco as the master of the region around the oracle in Dodona. Cf. Chalkokondyles, book 5, ed. Bonn, p. 237, and ed. Darkó, vol. 2, p. 15; Jorga, *Notes*, (December 14, 1433) 318–9, citing a letter of Menuino Tocco to the Holy Roman Emperor, Hungarian King Sigismund, indicates that not everybody was satisfied with the outcome of this division – Menuino, for instance, still aspired to Ioannina and Arta, for which he attempted to win the support of the Hungarian King (“supplicavitque Nostre Majestati quatenus sibi hujusmodi terras, videlicet Anynam et Artham, cum civitatibus, villis, hominibus, possessionibus, honoribus, usibus, juribus, vallibus, montibus, jurisdictionibus, et pertinenciis universis, auctoritate nostra conferre, elargiri et donare gracie dignaremur”). Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, 125 (July 6, 1430), 191–2, designated Francesca as the “vasilissa Sancte Maure,” and her edict issued on October 20 1430, in Hiotes, *Ἱστορικά ἀπομνημονεύματα*, vol. 2, no. 15, 624, shows that Kefalonia was also under her direct government.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. Dellile, *Famille*, 31–48; Peter Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania, the Law Code of Frankish Greece* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949), 103; David Jacoby, “Les archonts grecs et la féodalité en Morée franque,” *Travaux et Mémoires* 2 (1967): 446–7.

¹⁵¹ Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 2186, (June 3, 1430), 271–2; Jorga, *Notes*, 513; AAV, 2: 14, no. 3327, 29–40; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, 125 (July 6, 1430), 191–2; Jorga, *Notes*, 521; AAV, 2: 14, no. 3377, 83–5. The evidence about the Venetian grant to Carlo can be found in ASN, ATM, *Privilegi, busta* 1, perg. no. 47; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 3, 416–7; Jorga, *Notes*, 558; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2313 (March 14, 1433), 29; AAV 2: 15, no. 3549, 4–5. Also see, AAV, 2: 17, no. 3549bis (March 14, 1433), AAV, 2: 15, no. 3559 (March 15, 1433), 5–6; Marino Sanudo, *Le vite dei dogi*, ed. Giosue Carducci, in *RIS* 22, pt. 4: 1 (Castello: Lapi 1900–1), p. 60, under March 14, 1433. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 205, remarked on an overall ineffectiveness of this title for Carlo’s position. Cf. Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, 125 (July 6, 1430), 191–2.

¹⁵² Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 2186 (March 3, 1430), 271–2; Jorga, *Notes*, 513; 520; AAV, 2: 14, no. 3327, 29–40; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 2, no. 2201 (June 17, 1430), 275; AAV, 2: 14, no. 3375, 80–2. Cf. Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 125 (July 6, 1430), 191–2.

¹⁵³ Momčilo Spremić, *Despot Djuradj Branković i njegovo doba* (Despot George Branković and his epoch) (Belgrade: SKZ, 1994), 123–233; 285–302.

¹⁵⁴ Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2716 (May 20, 1446), 131; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2730 (September 14, 1446), 134, and AAV, 3: 19, no. 5266, 218–220; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2754 (August 7, 1447), 140. The tension seems to have escalated around the end of Carlo's rule, as from AAV 3: 19, no. 5203 (March 22, 1446), 161, and AAV 3: 19, 5323 (July 7, 1447), 272–3. Ducellier, "Aux frontières," 116. The earliest mention of the Catalans in the domain of Carlo II – especially around St. Maure – can be found in Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 21, 1, 8–20, 48, 430 (March 1430), when Sphrantzes himself was captured by them during his diplomatic mission to the Tocco lord and his illegitimate rivals. A more certain hint for Carlo's connection with these groups comes out from a Venetian complaint in AAV, 2: 14, no. 3405 (September 7, 1430). Cf. a case from AAV, 3: 18, no. 5005 (July 14, 1444), 229–31; DA, *Ref.* 10, fols. 44r–v. DA, *Lam. de Foris*, 11, fols. 183v–184r, as from the *regestum* in Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 882 (August 31, 1436), 311. For Vilamarin and his activities in the region, see Constantin Marinescu, *La Politique Orientale d'Alphonse d'Aragon, Roi de Naples 1416–1458* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Secció Històrico-arqueològica, 1994), 193–247.

¹⁵⁵ DA, *Div. Cancell.* 48 (February 1, 1435), fol. 312v, in Krekić, *Raguse*, 830, 302; DA, *Cons. Min.* 7, fol. 81r (August 23, 1436), partially in Jorga, *Notes*, 332, and Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 879, 310; DA, *Cons. Min.*, 9, fol. 19v; Jorga, *Notes*, 340 (April 4, 1437), *ibid.* (September 17, 1437); DA, *Div. Cancell.* 53, fol. 194r (July 15, 1439), as a *regestum* in Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 937, 320; DA, *Div. Cancell.* 55, fol. 201r (October 20, 1441); DA, *Div. Cancell.* 55, fol. 216v (November 7, 1441); DA, *Div. Cancell.*, 56, fol. 152r (July 10 and July 13, 1442); AAV 3: 18, no. 4792 (March 7, 1443), pp. 9–12. Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, 56; 58; 72; 82–4; 85–92; 99; 133–9. DA, *Cons. Min.*, 9, fol. 19v.

¹⁵⁶ DA, *Cons. Min.* 7, fol. 71v (July 13, 1436), as a *regestum* in Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 871, 309; DA, *Div. Not.* 20, fols. 273v–274r (July 17, 1436) in Krekić, no. 873, 309; DA, *Cons. Min.* 7, fol. 91v (October 6, 1436), as a *regestum* in Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 885, 311; DA, *Div. Not.* 20, fols. 273v–274 (October 8, 1436), as a *regestum* in Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 886, 311–2, mentions *Jacobus Russo*, the Despot's *procurator*, as confirming the receipt of 2777 ducats and 80 Venetian sous. The warranty was made by *Petrus Pantella* and *Aniellus Zecapesse*. Also, see *Cons. Min.* 7, fol. 71v; *Cons. Maius*, 5, 85; *Div. Not.* 20, 273v–274. Jorga, *Notes*, 333; Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, 72; Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 309, (July 17, 1436), 309. Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, 32; 38–9; 42; 59; 68–70; 99–100; 144–5; Ducellier, "Aux frontières," 115–8.

¹⁵⁷ DA, *Cons. Rog.* 6, fol. 38r; DA, *Cons. Maius* 5, fol. 62r–v; DA, *Cons. Min.* 7, fol. 30r; Jorga, *Notes*, 333; Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 859, 307. DA, *Lettere Levantine*, 12, fol. 163; Jorga, *Notes*, 340; 353; 365. According to DA, *Cons. Rog.* 8, fol. 214r, about the reparation of Carlo's cannon and the Ragusan gift in free powder. DA, *Cons. Rog.* 8, fol. 201r (June 4, 1448), as a *regestum* in Krekić, no. 1136, 355, the Ragusan senate allowed Carlo's envoy, Jacob Russo, to buy or order the production in Ragusa – on Carlo's expenses – of one silver bell and six *bombardae*. For the Ragusan excuses, see DA, *Cons. Min.* 7, fol. 34v (March 16, 1436), as a *regestum* in

Jorga, *Notes*, 332, and Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 862, 307. DA, *Cons. Min.* 7, fol. 34v (March 16, 1436), as a *regestum* in Jorga, *Notes*, 332, and Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 862, 307.

¹⁵⁸ Carlo's 'admission' of the irregularity of his title of Despot could be seen from the omission of this title from the documents he officially issued, e.g. MM, 5, no. 4, 69–70: "+ Κάρολος, ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ χάριτος αὐτέντης πόλεως Ἄρτης, δοῦκας Λευχάδος, κόντος Κεφαλωνίας, Παλατίνος [...]". The document was dated by MM, *loc. cit.* to April 15, 1461.

¹⁵⁹ Federico Cerone, "La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona," ASPN 27 (1902): 425–6; 594–5; David Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms*, 197–215; Marinescu, *La Politique Orientale d'Alphonse d'Aragon*, *passim*; David Abulafia, "Ferrante of Naples, Pope Pius II and the Congress of Mantua," in *Montjoie: Studies in The Crusade History in honor of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, eds. Benjamin Kedar, Jonathan Riley Smith and Rudolf Hieslnd (London: Ashgate Variorum, 1997), 236.

¹⁶⁰ The pro-Aragon disposition of the Neapolitan Tocco of Pietro's branch was documented in ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 49 (September 30, 1435, Naples); ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 50 (May 3, 1438, Capua); *ibid.*, perg. no. 51 (May 5, 1438, Capua); *ibid.*, perg. no. 52 (May 6, 1438, Capua); *ibid.*, perg. no. 53 (October 19, 1451, Torre del Greco). On the appearance of the King's galleon in the Tocco domain, see Nicol, *The Despotate*, 207. The Ventimiglia were a family of Liguria, originally formed through an alliance of the houses of Altavilla and Candia. In addition to the individual power of Carlo's father-in-law, Giovanni Ventimiglia, the family had ancestral connections dating back to Grand Count of Sicily Roger and the Lascaris family of Nicea, which made them one of the most remarkable alliances of the Tocco. ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 1, 3, fol. 7v; busta 11, 6, 1, fols. 26/22v; busta 11, 6, 2, fol. 60r; busta 11, 6, 2, fol. 89r. *ibid.*, fol. 90r, noted that Carlo made an immediate use of this new alliance inquiring help against the Ottomans during the last stage of his rule. On the importance of this marriage PLP, vol. 12, 3. Cf. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 207, on its incestuous nature (one of Carlo's fraternal aunts had been married to Giovanni Ventimiglia's ancestor, Enrico).

¹⁶¹ DA, *Div. Not.*, 28, fol. 24r (for Ansalona); *Cons. Rog.*, 10, fols. 204r and 205v (for Exparteri). Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 1087 (May 10, 1445), 345 recorded a *Ser Benedictus Machrini de Catane* as a resident of Arta. DA, *Div. Cancell.* 53, fols. 213v–214, Jorga, *Notes*, 356, and Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 940, 320 (*ser Nicolaus Satres*, identified as Catalan). *Div. Not.* 20, fol. 158r (January 30, 1436). For the Spanish presence in the region, see Nenad Fejić, *Španci u Dubrovniku u srednjem veku* (The Spaniards in Dubrovnik in the Middle Ages) (Belgrade: Prosveta, 1988); for some Florentines coming to the domain via Dubrovnik, Ducellier, "Aux frontières de la Romanie," 118; *id.*, "La place des Toscans et des Italiens du Nord dans le commerce balkanique au XV siècle: L'apport des sources Ragusanes," *BF* 11 (1987): 308.

¹⁶² On the "Crusade" at Varna and its historical contexts, see Imber, "Introduction" in *The Crusade of Varna, 1443–1445* (Crusade Texts in Translation) (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 1–40. For more details on this Crusade, see the papers published in *Balkanica Posnaniensia* 8 (1997): Karol Olejnik, "The Battle of Varna," 5–17; Șerban Papacostea, "Genoa, Venice, and the Varna Crusade," 27–39; Momčilo Spremić, "The Serbian Despot George Branković and the Battle of Varna in 1444," 39–51; Jerzy Hauziński, "The Albanian Factor and the Varna Crusade," 51–61; Malgorzata Dąbrowska, "Hexamilion and Varna," 61–71; Eugen

Denize, "The Crusade of Varna and the Relations between Jan Hunyadi and Alfons V of Aragon, King of Naples: Reality and Ideology," 71–83; Wincenty Swoboda, "The Significance and the Effects of the Battle of Varna," 109–19. Currently, the pontifical letter to Carlo II is a *deperditum*, but its existence is recorded in ASV, *Schedario Garampi* (Tocco), "Pro Carolo Tocco [...] ab Eugenio IV." Cf. *Bullarium Franciscanum continens Constitutiones Epistolas Diplomata [...] Eugenii IV et Nicolai V* (1431–55), ed. U. Hüntermann (Quaracchi: Ordo Fratrum Minorum, 1929), no. 85, p. 48 (the reference as from Nicol, *The Despotate*, 198, n. 5). Carlo's connection with the Crusaders was suggested by Spandugnino, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani*, 166. The Ottoman offensive on Carlo's land was mentioned by *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, chronicle no. 58: 8 (March 24, 1448), 419. On the date of this offensive, see Schreiner's commentary in *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 2, 476. Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 26, 4, 66–8; Ducas, "Chronicon breve," 519; Jorga, *Notes*, 47 (March 24, 1449); Michael Ducas Nepos, *De Rebus Epiri*, fr. 5, chapter 1, p. 254, lns. 1–13, dating the fall of Akarnania and Arta to March 24, 1449 (Monday). About the Ottoman retaliations in the Peloponnese during Winter 1446, see Sphrantzes, 70. For the dates of the Ottoman conquest of Carlo's land in Epiros, see Zakythenos, *Le despotat*, 1, 232. Djurić, *Sumrak Vizantije*, 315–6. Nicol, *The Despotate*, 209. An indication that Carlo II had already been dead at the time of Arta's fall can be found in a Venetian document in AAV, 3: 20, no. 5469 (April 26, 1449), referring to a letter dated to March 26, 1449, in which a tutor of Carlo's children was mentioned. Carlo II was openly referred to as dead ("olim") in AAV, 3: 20, no. 5482 (July 8, 1449), 122–4.

Towards Naples

The premature death of the family leader left the Tocco once again without a stabile leadership and protection. Carlo's eldest son and heir, Leonardo III, was of minor age, so until his maturity, the domain had to be governed by his four tutors.¹⁶³ Many scholars, especially those of the earlier times, described Leonardo's rule as a period of prosperity and peace. These descriptions were based upon a sixteenth-century interpretation by Spanish historian Geronimo Zurita (Çurita), who presented Leonardo III in an ideal manner, as an independent ruler of a rich and abundant region ("that this territory can be called a Kingdom"). At first sight, various documentary references confirm this account, indeed highlighting Leonardo's exceptional ruling abilities and the stability of his region. However, another set of documents from Leonardo's time echoes something totally different – a catastrophe that ended with the final Ottoman offensive in 1479, the Tocco loss of power in Greece, and the family's return to Naples.¹⁶⁴

Looking back from a distance of a few hundred years, the explanation of this discrepancy in the historical interpretations should not be surprising. Zurita's narrative is highly subjective and projects his own perceptions of time. It is true that Leonardo's domain was not always attacked by the Ottomans in this period and that it indeed witnessed some years of peace and prosperity, so it is quite likely that the Tocco lord himself did not take the signs of the disaster approaching as serious. Had he been aware of the Ottoman attacks' frequency and intensity as we analyze them today, he would have probably been able to better anticipate the progress of events that followed the Christian defeat at Varna in 1444 and the Ottomans' subsequent sweep across the Balkans by young sultan Mehmed II (1444–1446; 1451–1481). In 1453, their troops took Constantinople, and the same happened with the Branković Despotate of Serbia in 1459, the Byzantine Despotate of Morea in 1460,

and the Kingdom of Bosnia in 1463. The first wave of this offensive had already affected the Tocco in Epiros almost immediately after the battle at Kosovo Polje in 1448. In April 1449, the Ottoman troops continued towards Leukas and stayed near the island for almost entire next year.¹⁶⁵

The second major Ottoman offensive, as can be seen from the documents on Leonardo's embassy to Pope Pius II at the Congress of Mantua, took place in the late 1450s. On this occasion, the Tocco envoys asked the Pope's help in arms and money, as well as the pontifical recommendation to the Venetians, whom they accused of being uninterested in aiding their master. Leonardo was again recorded in 1461 as imploring help in order "to preserve his status," this time directly from Venice, with similar pleas repeated in October 1462. The Ottomans came close to the Tocco islands once again in February 1463. The seriousness of this offensive is well reflected in the Venetian instructions to the commander of their fleet in the region whom they required to demonstrate power and protect the local population. The Venetian commander was also advised to observe the developments, and help Leonardo if necessary. Another Venetian instruction from this period further reported that a Tocco galleon directly clashed with the Ottomans in May 1463. The new troubles were mentioned in March 1467, when the pontifical *Curia* deliberated about its support to the "Despot of Arta." From this period on, the Ottoman threat was imminent by day, even in situations when Leonardo seemed to be their ally. During the 1470s, the fall of the Tocco domain was, obviously, just the question of time.¹⁶⁶

No doubt, the increased frequency of the Ottoman attacks to the Tocco territory was a part of their re-known strategy of militarily and economically exhausting enemies before a final attack. At the same time, the intensified frequency of the Ottoman sieges of the Ionian islands was a part of a wider Ottoman offensive that was conducted in the south-western Balkans 1476–1479. The accounts of Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes (Makarios Melissenos) suggest that the Tocco domain was important to the Sultan's troops as a rear for their attack to the Albanian petit-lords and the Crnojević family in Zeta (present day Montenegro), which could explain the impact of their actions against the Heptanese in summer 1477. For unknown reasons – the reports of the time explained this with God's will – Leonardo was given some more time to endure, and the Ottomans fully focused on his domain only after their final conquest of Albania in 1479.¹⁶⁷

The intensification of the Ottoman attacks prompted the Tocco look for help on various sides. Among those Leonardo frequently turned to were his immediate neighbors, the Venetians. Their long aspirations to the Tocco region must have surely been apparent to Leonardo III and his entourage, but regardless of this, they still attempted some compromise. On April 24, 1449, almost immediately upon the death of Leonardo's father, Leonardo's tutor and *vicarius* of Leukas, *Jacobus de Rosso*, expressed open willingness to negotiate with the Republic about their protectorate for this island. A similar proposition came from the bishop of Kefalonia in July 1449, when he himself traveled to Venice as a direct envoy of "Despot Leonardo" accredited to require the protection of the mighty maritime republic. Interestingly enough, the two propositions of the Tocco side do not seem to have been fully coordinated, which suggests that the two parties acted separately from each other, and perhaps not entirely in accordance with the interests of their young master. Such a conclusion is further backed by a few Venetian promises of 'remunerations' to *Rosso* for his efforts (he was offered to keep his position under the Venetians and a salary from five hundred to one thousand and five hundred ducats), while the Bishop was reportedly less co-operative as he avoided to accept any concrete gift from the Venetian officials.¹⁶⁸

The Venetian aspirations to the Tocco domain eventually yielded a formal agreement. On September 12, 1449, in the presence of all high Tocco officials, namely the four Tocco tutors, and nine noble witnesses of Leonardo's council, Venetian envoy *Leo Venierius* concluded the agreement in the castle of St. Maure. As the Venetian public notary *Marco of Corfu* wrote, Leonardo III Tocco signed his consent to the protectorate of the *Signoria* under an oath, in his own name and in the name of his brothers and future successors. In return, the Venetians obliged themselves to defend him and all his possessions.¹⁶⁹

Technically, Leonardo's oath to the *Signoria* in 1449 implies his consent to the military presence of the Venetian Republic in his domain. In reality, however, this Venetian protectorate did not mean a great deal, and in the subsequent years Leonardo's pleas for various and exceptional forms of help were usually rejected by the *Signoria*. Some modern historians justify this Venetian attitude by caution about the Ottomans which prevailed in their politics after the Christian defeat at Varna (1444), while the others see it more as a logical direction of their aspirations in which Leonardo had to be additionally exhausted by receiving the least possible

help before they would directly come into the possession of the Tocco islands.¹⁷⁰

If the Venetian delayed help was indeed the result of their deliberate policy of exhaustion, then the significant presence of their subjects on the islands during Leonardo's rule would certainly mean the *Signoria's* 'silent' infiltration to the Tocco domain. Apart from a greater number of the Venetian subjects, the Tocco island of Zakynthos in this period hosted also a Venetian consul. No doubt, the consul's mandate was to take care of the Venetian citizens and subjects in the Tocco domain. Yet, a document dated June 8, 1473, illustrates how this mandate could easily expand towards a direct interference in the Tocco administration. On this date, the Venetians complained about the status of some ten thousand *Moraites*, their Greek or Albanian subjects of the Peloponnese who had fled from the Ottomans and found refuge on the Tocco domain on Zakynthos. Leonardo received them hoping to use their experience in arms. To keep them loyal, he even gave them some land on the island. Soon afterwards, however, the *Moraites* rebelled, blaming the Tocco clerics and officials on the island for having attempted to "make them *villici*" that is, to take their freedom and impose a regular tribute on them. They also accused the Tocco lord of donating them uncultivated land of poor quality, a complaint echoing not just their real status problem, but also a universal opposition between 'Us and Them' which follows all human migrations and settlements of the newcomers.¹⁷¹

The case eventually ended with a solution satisfactory for the Venetian authorities – the *Moraites* on Zakynthos remained personally free, and the Venetian consul was allowed not only to execute the power of the *Signoria* over them, but to even deal with the Tocco subjects in certain cases. In this situation, it is easy to understand why Leonardo attempted to secure new alliances elsewhere. As it seems immediately after his maturity, he restored the contacts with the family's original suzerain, the royal throne in Naples, by presenting for renewal the family's grants to King Alfonso V of Aragon (King of Naples 1442–1458), as well as the family titles of Duke of Leukas, Count Palatine of Kefalonia and Despot of Arta.

Importantly, the Aragon act of 1452 confirmed all family titles, additionally conceding to Leonardo, eternally (*in perpetuum*) for his feudal service (*in ligium et feudum nobile*), also the rights to the

Principality of Achaea and *Naupacto* (*de principatu Acaye et terra Neopacti*) that had traditionally been associated with the family's ancient suzerains, the Angevin branch of Taranto. Allegedly, this right had already been confirmed to Leonardo's father by Queen Joanna II in 1422. Such an allegation, however, is not supported by any document. From the reconfirmation act of 1452, it is apparent that King Alfonso received only the Tocco allegations about this document's existence and no original document was ever presented to him. Then, the Tocco lord who had reportedly received the royal confirmation of 1422 could not have been Leonardo's father but only Carlo I, the paternal ancestor of Leonardo III. Finally, it is hard to believe that the document of 1422 contained any concession from Queen Joanna II to any Tocco lord, since this was the time when the family, including Carlo I in Greece, was not on good terms with the throne in Naples and the Principality of Achaea was in the hands of Centurione Zaccaria.¹⁷²

Yet to classify the document of 1452 as an act of no real weight would be wrong. Its practical significance emerges from the mutual needs of both contracting parties. To Leonardo, having the Aragon ruler in Naples as his suzerain meant a prospective of a more substantial military help. To King Alfonso, on the other side, having Leonardo as a vassal meant obtaining an important outpost in the East where he planned to take over the claims of his predecessors at the throne in Naples to the imperial throne in Constantinople and initiate a new Crusade against the Ottomans.¹⁷³

Like with the Venetians, the period which followed 1452, yielded scant references about any concrete or significant help the Tocco received from the Aragons, which further explains several other political contacts Leonardo had with his surroundings. Some of these were of private nature, like his conjugal alliance with Milica Branković, a connection that closely reflected the high political relations of the time. Milica was the second daughter of Serbian Despot Lazar Branković (1456–1458) and Helen Palaiologina, who was the daughter of Thomas Palaiologos, Despot of Morea and the youngest brother of the last Byzantine Emperor. The marriage was concluded on May 1, 1463 in Ragusa, through Leonardo's servitors *Galassus Russo* and *Janucius Morello*, and the wedding ceremony (in which Leonardo did not participate in person) took place under the shadow of an immediate Ottoman danger. Although reported as "virtuous," with her father already dead, his land conquered by the

Ottomans, and herself sharing the hardships of exile with her mother, Milica was a princess with no protection and not entirely a desirable match in that very moment. Yet the legacy of the positions of Despot held by Milica's father and her maternal grand-father, as well as the imperial glory of her maternal kin and their actual connections to the circle around Cardinal/Patriarch Bessarion and Pope Pius II (1458–1464), who, at that time, had too been devising a new Crusade, show that Leonardo saw his first marriage as a means of securing the support of the Roman Curia which he deemed the most influential power in the medieval West at the time.¹⁷⁴

Pope Pius and his successors – Paul II (1464–1471) in part and Sixtus IV (1471–1484) fully – were famous for their anti-Ottoman disposition, so this attitude must have been encouraging to Leonardo as another possible channel of protection. Compared to the poor support which came to his domain from Venice and Naples, the initial attention of the Popes must have seemed quite special to Leonardo. In 1459, Pope Pius II conceded to him a galleon fabricated in the pontifical factory near Rome. Pope Paul II also sent him several thousands of gold florins between 1465 and 1467, as well as a part of two hundred thousand florins collected for the Hungarians, the Despot of Morea, Scander-bey, and the “Despot of Arta” to support their defense against the Ottomans (December 1471). Some remarks about “a not insignificant quantity of money” to Leonardo III could be heard also in the time of Sixtus IV (1476). In addition, the popes recommended Leonardo – not always successfully, though – to the Venetians who, as the time passed, were less and less willing to support the idea of the Tocco resistance to the Ottomans. Finally, Leonardo was incited to persist in his struggle with the Ottomans through the ardent ideological expressions of the pontifical letters.¹⁷⁵

The pontifical support, no matter how significant it might have seemed, could not, however, satisfy the needs of the Tocco domain, which rose as the Ottoman attacks intensified. Apart from the regular and irregular expenses for his army, the intensification of the attacks brought to Leonardo serious shortages, especially of food. A particularly severe one was documented in 1462 when his brother went to Venice in person to ask for subsidies. The strength of the domain was additionally weakened by occasional internal conflicts between the newcomers from the Peloponnese and other parts of Greece and the local inhabitants. In 1468, some Moraites, were recorded as plundering and raping around the

town of Zakynthos. Even nature was not well-disposed to the Tocco. In spring-summer 1469, the region was shaken by a series of strong earthquakes and the accounts of Sphrantzes and Pseudo-Sphrantzes (Makarios Melissenos) mention collapsed houses on all three islands, particularly on Kefalonia where, apart from the material damage, “many people were killed.”¹⁷⁶

As the help from the outside world was obviously insufficient, it is of no surprise why Leonardo attempted to boost some forces inside his domain.¹⁷⁷ Among his subjects, particular attention was given to the members of the local Greek-Orthodox aristocracy. The documents issued by Leonardo during the 1460s and 1470s show that he counted on winning his allies by restoring the old privileges of the local archon families, or by receiving the archons and archontopoula at his court and among his closest entourage. In addition, the Tocco chancellery now employed Greeks in greater numbers, and the fact that it issued charters in Greek has prompted some scholars to conclude that this new alliance reflected the process of Leonardo’s ‘Hellenisation.’¹⁷⁸

Leonardo’s attempts to win the sympathies of his Greek subjects can be further concluded from his reception of the Orthodox refugees from the neighboring lands already attacked by the Ottomans.¹⁷⁹ In addition, some historians find the confirmation of his friendly attitude towards the local subjects in the alleged restoration of the Orthodox episcopate of Kefalonia, banished since the time of Leonardo I. To this, some scholars added an undocumented hint about Leonardo’s personal friendship with a newly appointed Orthodox bishop. Leonardo’s preference of the Orthodox, then, also seemed probable by the fact that the building activities of the sacral Orthodox objects flourished on the islands during his rule. Finally, some found an indication of his favor of the Orthodox even in the very fact that he married Milica Branković who reportedly confessed Orthodoxy, as well as from intense religious activities of her mother on Leukas (1464–1473).¹⁸⁰

Yet various Latin signs of Leonardo’s rule suggest that these implications of his Hellenism were artificial. Leonardo still kept issuing charters in Latin, and his Greek documents were signed in the Latin language and manner (*Leo despotus*, χάριτι Θεοῦ), with some other authentication elements clearly belonging to the western diplomatic tradition (e.g. *mezzano sigillo*).¹⁸¹ Most of the Greeks mentioned in Leonardo’s documents participated in the Tocco administration that was still of

a Neapolitan type, with his court as the key ruling center featured by Latin institutions and offices still structured like those at the court of their suzerains in Naples (*vicarius, mastro rationalis, tresurerius, procurator*). His high officials were still mostly Italian, and these people were conscribed either from the Italian families already colonized in the Heptanese (*Ioannes de Trani, Nicolaus d'Ancona, Jacobus and Galassus Russus*), or from the newcomers of Benevento and Calabria. Finally, the formulation of Leonardo's matrimonial contract on the occasion of his marriage with Milica Branković, and the pontifical concession of the *ius patronatum* for the church of St. Demetrius on Leukas by Sixtus IV in 1476, clearly show that Leonardo considered himself a Roman Catholic and Italian. His inclination to the Latin world was further demonstrated in 1477 when he married for the second time. The new bride was Francesca Marzano, a relative of his Aragon suzerain in Naples, which enabled him, on the eve of the final Ottoman conquest, to require help from Naples more persistently and count more certainly on a secure accommodation in the case of a potential exile.¹⁸²

In sum, the last Tocco ruler of the Ionian islands certainly gave an impression of an energetic and wise governor, allied with the key political factors of the Latin West and closely attached to the subjects of his own domain. Despite this image of success, however, Leonardo was far from an ideal lord of a reportedly prosperous domain. His land was exposed to a growing pressure from the outside (not just the Ottomans but the Venetians, too), as well as to various internal troubles that ranged between natural disasters and antagonisms among his subjects and family. With such a burden, it is of no wonder that the islands quickly fell to the Ottomans at the end of August/beginning of September 1479. Leonardo gave no resistance and upon the first sign of the coming Ottomans, he left St. Maure to Kefalonia. From there, he fled to Naples where he spent the rest of his life pondering on how to restore his power over the islands.

¹⁶³ Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2809 (August 11, 1449), 153. The names of the tutors were mentioned in a document published by Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 1, 94–5 (September 12, 1449) as “*Jacobus Rosso, Andreas de Guido de Strione, Gaeatius de Santa Columba et Marinus Miliars*.” Three out of the four names mentioned here correspond to the names quoted by Chalkokondyles, book 4, ed. Bonn, p. 209, and ed. Darkó, vol. 1, p. 196, for the companions of Carlo I Tocco (Ῥώσον καὶ Γυῖδον καὶ Μυλειαρέσην).

¹⁶⁴ Zurita, *Historia del Rey don Hernando*, book 4, chapter 30, fols. 199v–200r; Mazzella, *Descrittione*, 646, recording how Leonardo, during period of peace with the Ottomans, had “molte centenaria di migliaia di feudi d'intrata.” Magnò, *Estratti*, 196; Blantès, ‘H Λευκάς, 73; Miller, *The Latins*, 484; Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, 514.

¹⁶⁵ AAV 3: 20, no. 5440 (January 24, 1449), 86–8, reporting that some local people abandoned the Tocco places due to the Ottoman attacks; *ibid.*, no. 5469 (April 24, 1449), 111–2 and Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2797, 150 (dating this document to April 26, 1449); AAV, 3: 20, no. 5486 (July 7, 1449), 126–7; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2809 (August 11, 1449), 153; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2814 (December 9, 1449), 154.

¹⁶⁶ AAV, 3: 24, no. 6799 (July 10, 1459), 46–7; The Letter of Pope Pius II to the Bishop of Mantova (November 29, 1459) in Ludwig v. Pastor, ed., *Acta inedita historiarum pontificum Romanorum praesertim saeculos XV, XVI, XVII illustrantia*, vol. 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herdersche Verlagshandlung 1904), no. 89, p. 119; The Letter of Pope Pius II to the Venetian Signoria (8–9th Kalendae 1459), as from “Relatio viri nobilis ser Nicolai Maripetri,” in Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 6, 8. For the 1460s, see AAV 3: 24, no. 7023 (April 23, 1461), 277; ASVen, *Sen. Secr.* 21, fols. 118r (October 16, 1462); AAV, 3: 24, no. 7236 (October 26, 1462), 480; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 3173 (February 4, 1463), 247–8; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 3180 (May 17, 1463), 249; “Pauli II de Curia” (8th Kalendae of March, fourth year of the pontificate=1467), *liber 2*, in ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 540, fols. 16v–20v. As suggested by a chronicle in *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, 69: 17, and accepted by Nicol, *The Despotate*, 211, and *ibid.*, n. 42, the remainder of the Tocco territories in Acarnania (Angelokastro and Barnaca), with the exception of Vonitsa, was occupied by the Ottomans immediately after Morea 1460. The Ottoman attacks in this period were also mentioned by Critoboulos of Imbros, *Critobuli Imbriotae De Rebus per annos 1451–1467 a Mechemete II gestis*, ed. Vasile Grecu (Bucharest: Academia Republicii Socialiste România, 1963), book 4, chapter 16, section 5, p. 311, lns. 16–24. For the involvement of the Tocco in the Venetian contacts with the Ottomans 1466–1470, ASVen, *Sen. Secr.* 24, fols. 164v–166r (November 27, 1470) and fols. 168v–170r (November 29, 1470); Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 183 (June 8, 1473), 269–7. Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, 306–7. Leonardo's active contacts with the Ottomans were reported in 1465–1466 during their conflict with the Venetians, when Leonardo mediated between the two powers. However, the documents do not show that he enjoyed any special respect or trust on either side. For these documents, see István Nagy – Albert Nyári, *Magyar diplomáciai emlékek Mátyás király korából (1458–1490)*, vol. 1 (Budapest: MTA 1875), nos. 187, 188, 195, 199, 213, 223, 231, 236 (January 29, 1465 – February 21, 1466).

¹⁶⁷ On the Ottoman strategies of conquest, see Momčilo Spremić, “Turci i balkansko poluostrvo u XIV i XV veku (The Turks and the Balkan peninsula in the 14th and 15th centuries,” *Jugoslavenski istorijski časopis* 1–2 (1966): 37. On the chronology and the extent of this offensive in Albania, Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 619–20.

¹⁶⁸ For an example of the Venetian interest in the Tocco domain, see AAV 3: 20, no. 5440 (January 24, 1449), 86–8. AAV 3: 20, no. 5469 (April 24, 1449), 111–2, mentioning a letter of the Regimen of Corfu from March 26 according to which Rosso had already contacted the Venetians with his offer before this date. The documents also reveal that he did not make the contact in person but through a Venetian nobleman, *Adam de Ipolito miles* (for a reference to the merits of his fourteenth-century ancestor of this figure, Hopf, *GG*, 2,

107, n. 84); also, the document makes it apparent that the Venetians were willing to pay a bribe for Rosso's loyalty. Other indications of his engagement for the Venetians can be further found in Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2797 (April 26, 1449), 150, AAV, 3: 20, 5482 (July 8, 1449), 122–4, AAV, 3: 20, no. 5488 (August 1, 1449), and Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2809 (August 11, 1449), 153. For the Bishop's mission, see AAV, 3: 20, no. 5486 (July 7, 1449), 126–7. The identity of the Bishop was suggested by a document of September 12, 1449, in Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 1, 95 ("Reverendissimo in Christo patre Domino Johanne Jacopo de Pisaurò Episcopo Zefalonie"); Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2808 (August 7, 1449), 152; AAV, 3: 20, no. 5478 (August 8, 1449), 127–30, and Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2808 (August 8, 1449), 153, mentioned that Leonardo's envoy declared that he had no mandate to accept any such agreement. References in Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2797 (April 26, 1449), 150 and AAV, 3: 20, no. 5469, pp. 111–12, as well AAV 3: 20, no. 5482 (July 8, 1449), 122–4, show that some people of Leonardo's domain lobbied for the protectorate of the Aragon Naples.

¹⁶⁹ Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 2, 94–5 (September 11, 1449). Cf. Magnò, *Estratti*, p. 196.

¹⁷⁰ For a similar conclusion, see Nicol, *The Despotate*, 210–11. For an example of how the Venetians used every opportunity to avoid their duties as protectors, see "The Letter of Pope Pius II to the Venetian Signoria" (8–9th Kalendae, 1459), as from "Relatio viri nobilis ser Nicolai Maripetri," in Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 6, 8; ASVen, *Sen. Secr.*, 21, fol. 118r (October 16, 1462) and fol. 119r (October 26, 1462) (the documents partly published by Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, p. 242, n. 39), where Leonardo's younger brother Giovanni was sent to Venice to clarify with the Signoria "malae et periculosae conditiones status sui." Also, see Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 3173 (February 4, 1463), 247–8; Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2814 (December 9, 1449), 154. For the Tocco supplications for food, AAV, 3: 24, no. 7236 (October 26, 1462), 480. "The Letter of Pope Pius II to the Venetian Signoria" (8–9 Kalendae 1459), as from "Relatio viri nobilis ser Nicolai Maripetri," in Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 6, 8 contains an example of how the Pope had to urge the Venetians – in quite an unpleasant tone – to help the Tocco: "ubi vestra magnanimitas? Ubi altum cor? Ubi memoria quae vestri maiores pro religione magnifice gesserunt?" AAV 3: 24, no. 7023 (April 23, 1461), 277, indicating the limitation of the Venetian funds to the Tocco. AAV, 3: 24, no. 6799 (July 10, 1459), 46–7, presents the Venetian view of the pontifical recommendations to help the Tocco – they simply declared the lack of funds. For occasional signs of the Venetian generosity towards a Tocco ambassador in a period close to their refusal, cf. AAV, 3: 24, no. 6746 (January 19, 1459), 5 (25 ducats to "Zuan da Trane"). Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 3, no. 2814 (December 9, 1449), 154, about the suggestion of Niccolò Cocco, a sage of the Venetian *Ordines*, to keep Leonardo on Corfu for twenty years during which period his domain would be governed by Venice.

¹⁷¹ Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 183 (June 8, 1473), 269–71. This document was also quoted by Hiotes, *Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα*, vol. 3, 629. The document informs us that these peasants originated from the places "Vomero, Olena, Chilidoniota," and complained about the unfavorable conditions in the Tocco land ("loci inculti, sterili e salvatichi"). Magnò, *Estratti*, 196; Kolyva-Karaleka, "La penetrazione," 86. Miller, *The Latins*, 483, noted similar cases also on Leukas (receiving fifteen thousand people from the continent).

¹⁷² ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 54; Nada Zečević, "Confirmation Grant of King Alfonso V of Aragon to Leonardo III Tocco (July 16, 1452): an authentic charter with a fake justification?" *Radovi Filozofskog Fakulteta (Works of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Eastern Sarajevo)* 14: 2 (2012): 9–19.

¹⁷³ Momčilo Spremić, "Vazali kralja Alfonsa Aragonskog (The Vassals of King Alfonso of Aragon)," *Zbornik Filozofskog Fakulteta u Beogradu* 12 (1974): 462–6. Among other local lords who claimed loyalty to King Alfonso were Herzeg Kosača, Skenderbey, and Demetrios Palaiologos. For similar pontifical plans in the East, see W. K. Hanak, "Pope Nicholas V and the aborted crusade of 1452–1453 to rescue Constantinople from the Turks," *Byzantinoslavica* 65 (2007): 337–59.

¹⁷⁴ A rare trace of a direct Aragon involvement in the Tocco islands 1452–1479 can be found in *FA*, vol. 3, "Il registro *Sigillorum Summariae Magni Sigilli XLVI* (1469–70)," no. 374 (February 15, 1470), 81: "Fratris jacobii Antonii, abbatis Sancte Maure de Mito, diocesis Leucadiensis, concessio quod rehabitare facere possit certas domos dicte ecclesie et reintegratio certorum bonorum, taxata solvat tarenos duodecim." This change was also affected by the change at the Aragon throne, and the new King Ferrante's (1458–1494) priorities, namely in Italy and Hungary, for this see Abulafia, *The Western Mediterranean Kingdoms*, 223–35. ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 57 (May 1, 1463, Ragusa) and an uncertified copy in ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 41, fols. 108r–113v. For the full text of this document, Nada Zečević, "Bračni ugovor Leonarda III Toko i Milice Branković, 1. maj 1463" (The marriage contract between Leonardo III Tocco and Milica Branković), *Stari srpski arhiv* 4 (2005): 209–37; *eadem*, "Prvi brak despota Leonarda III Toko" (The first marriage of Despot Leonardo III Tocco), *ZRVI* 43 (2006): 155–73. On the actual political situation in the time of the conclusion of this marriage (the final Ottoman conquest of Bosnia in May 1463), see Sima Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države* (History of the medieval Bosnian state) (Belgrade: SKZ, 1964), 323. For the pontifical plans against the Ottomans at the time, see Nancy Bisaha, "Pope Pius II and the Crusade," in *Crusading in the Fifteenth Century: Message and Impact*, ed. Norman J. Housley (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 39–52. For various interpretations of Leonardo's first marriage, see *Dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli*, ed. gen. Mario del Treppo, coordinating eds. Francesco Senatore and Francesco Storti (Napoli: Carlone, 1997; 1998), vol. 1, 505, and vol. 4, 48; Spandugino, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani*, 166; Remondini, *Estratto*, 344–5 (ad ann. 1460–4); "Chronicle of Hugues de Busac," eds. Edith Brayer and Victor Laurent, in "Le Vaticanus Latinus 4789: Histoire et alliances des Cantacuzènes aux XIV–XV siècles," *Revue des Études Byzantines* 9 (1951), 71 (= de Busac, *Chronicle*); Morosini, *Corsi di penna*, 85.

¹⁷⁵ Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, 319. "Pauli II de Curia" (8th Kalendae of March, 1467), *liber* 2, in ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 540, fols. 16v–20v, partially published in Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, 291, n. 79. Pope Paul II, "Quamvis ad applicanda ecclesiarum omnium commoda" (December 31, 1471), in ASV, *Armadi*, 31, tom 62, fol. 17v, partially in Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, 312, n. 165. Schmitt, *Das venezianische Albanien*, 610. Sixtus IV, "Quamvis ad applicanda" (February 5, 1476) in ASV, *Reg. Vat.* 679, fols. 147r–150r, partially published in Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, 325–6. The letter of Pope Pius II to the Bishop of Mantova, in Pastor, *Acta inedita*, vol. 1, no. 89, p. 119. The epistle of Pope Pius II to *Leonardo Despoti Arthae*

(November 16, 1459, in Mantova), in Pastor, *Acta inedita*, vol. 1, no. 88, 119. Pope Pius II to the Archbishop of Bologna (May 13, 1460), in Pastor, *Acta inedita*, vol. 1, no. 95, 122.

¹⁷⁶ AAV 3: 24, no. 7023 (April 23, 1461), 277; AAV, 3: 24, no. 7236 (October 26, 1462), 480; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 7, p. 6 (September 5, 1468). For natural disasters, see Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 48, 2, 138; Pseudo Sphrantzes (Makarios Melissenos), *Chronicon* 1258–1481, book 4, chapter 23, section 2, page 584. According to the Venetian census of February 1583, as from Fokas–Kosmetatos, Το κάστρο, 51, the fortress of St. George was not the political center of the island any more, and its population decreased to a number less than one thousand (out of c. fifty thousand inhabitants on the entire island at the time), which was notably insignificant in comparison to some twelve thousand inhabitants in its *suburbium* reported around the beginning of the Venetian rule there in the 1480s. The place was completely abandoned by 1770.

¹⁷⁷ Miller, *The Latins*, 484, noted the frequent presence of the Italians on the islands, but also the favorable treatments of the local population.

¹⁷⁸ MM, 5, no. 7, 72 (August 8, 1475) mentions as his *oikeios* (=familiaris) a person called Michael Παντορότης; MM, 3, no. 16 (April 23, 1478), 260; “The letter of Cyriacus of Ancona “De suo itinere Astacore ad Dodoneum Orionatium,” in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 41 (13th Kalendae of June, 1436), 348–9. MM, 5, no. 9 (January 22, 1478), 73, mentions as archons of Zakynthos a “Νούτζον Σιγοῦρον καὶ Κύριλλον τὸν Βασιλίτζην καὶ τὸν γραμματικὸν τῆς κούρτης Σίμων τὸν Γούργουραν [...]”; together with them, some Greeks, close to the episcopus, also appeared on this occasion (“κύριος Ἀθανάσιος ὁ Στεβένης” and “κύριος Τζίλιος Διγαήτας”). Cf. Jacoby, “Les archonts grecs,” 468, about similar cases of the local archons turning into “nobiles” in the Latin-governed Morea which he sees as “integration” (*ibid.*, 471). For various opinions on the chronology of Leonardo’s “Hellenization,” see Miller, *The Latins*, 484 (dating it to 1452); Blantès, Ἡ Λευκάς, 74. Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 2, 34 (dating it to the period after 1463). Differently on this, and describing Leonardo as a largely unpopular, locally unconnected and violent ruler, Nicol, *The Despotate*, 210.

¹⁷⁹ For Leonardo’s reception of refugees from the continent, see Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 7, 6 (September 5, 1468). Miller, *The Latins*, 484; Blantès, Ἡ Λευκάς, 74; Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 2, 34. A conclusion that the Orthodox institutions functioned on the islands in Leonardo’s time emerges from a Venetian capitulum for Kefalonia (January 19, 1505), in Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 5, 162–5 (“videlicet che le chiese greche non pagino decima alcuna ed angaria cussi come se observava nel tempo del Signro Lunardo et de l suoi precessori per esser dicte giesie desfatte”). Konomos, Ἡ χριστιανικὴ τέχνη στὴν Κεφαλονιά, 17–20, quoting Leonardo’s name on an inscription on the church of Anafonetria on Zakynthos as an indication of his openness towards the Orthodox. Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 2, 34, considers the Orthodox Bishop to have been a Gerasimos of the house of Loberdos; *ibid.*, 38. Blantès, Ἡ Λευκάς, 73–4. However, the documents mentioning an “episcopus” of Kefalonia in Greek language and manner of reference also identify this person as Ντζουάννη Ἀντώνιον, which makes it clear that he was Italian and Catholic and that his name was just quoted in a Greek form (similarly as the names of his compatriots μισέρ Φραγγέσκον Δαριάνο; or Ἰωάννη δὲ Τράνι).

¹⁸⁰ Remondini, *Estratto*, 344, mentioned a church, still existing in his time, and a female convent *publico juspatronato* on the mount of St. Elias (not far from the local fortress), built as a profane seigniorial structure. *Ibid.*, Remondini also ascribed to Leonardo the building of the churches of St. Nicolas Megalomati on the mount Scopos, and St. Demetrios in the “villa Melinado,” which had already been destroyed until the time he wrote. Similarly, Konomos, Ἡ χριστιανικὴ τέχνη στὴν Κεφαλониά, 7 and 12, mentioned a number of Orthodox frescos which date increasingly from the mid–fifteenth century, as well as the Orthodox sacral buildings apparently more frequent on Zakynthos since this period, see *id.*, Εκκλησίες και μοναστήρια στὴ Ζάκυνθο, 15; 17–20; 60; 78; 81; 99. Milica’s paternal kin openly confessed Orthodoxy, while from her maternal side she had close links with the Catholics. Although she is usually linked with the Orthodox rite, some evidence seems to suggest her formal inclination towards Catholicism or the Union, e.g. ASN, ATM, *Privilegi, busta* 1, perg. no. 57 (May 1, 1463, Ragusa) (Leonardo declaring his acceptance of Milica as “legitimam Coniugem secundum consuetudinem, et sanctiones Sacrae Matris Ecclesiae Catholice”). One other indication of the non-Orthodox nature of her marriage can also be found in the contract’s detail that appealed to the enactment of the marriage according to the “leges scriptae Imperiales, quae observantur apud Latinos.” Blantès, Ἡ Λευκάς, 73, suggests that Leonardo’s favor to the Orthodox was not based only on his marriage to Milica, but also on the general trends in the West which, at the time, incited the marriages with the Orthodox as the means of the confirmation of the Catholic-Orthodox Union. As it is generally assumed, Milica Branković died in 1464 during child delivery. Her mother Helen, subsequently became nun named Hypomone. Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 45, 1, 134, and Pseudo-Sphrantzes, *Chronicon*, 4, 22, 15, 568, mention that in November 1467 she resided on St. Maure.

¹⁸¹ Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 1, 108 (November 24, 1467 in St. Maure): “Noi Leonardo per la grazia di Dio Duca di Leucade, Conte Cefalonia e Palatino.” *MM* 5, no. 5 (September 30, 1469, in St. Maure), 70–1, contains a regular formula of the Greek horisms (“διὰ τοῦ παρόντος”) but in it Leonardo, just like his predecessors, signed with a translation from Latin as “χάριτι Θεοῦ αὐθέντης”; *MM*, 5, no. 7 (August 8, 1475), 72 “Leonardus dispotus, Dominus dispotus”; Leonardo’s diatagm to the monastery of Prodromos in the fort “μονὴ Κοζιδάτου” dated to 1478, in Hiotes, Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα, vol. 2, 249 (*Il Despota*). Cf. de Busac, *Chronique*, 71: “ton afendin ton desfotin tis Artas.”

¹⁸² Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 1, 108 (November 24, 1467 in St. Maure), *ibid.*, (October 6, 1465); *ibid.*, (November 24, 1467 in St. Maure); *MM*, 3, no. 16 (April 23, 1478), 260; *MM*, 5, no. 6 (May 15, 1471), 71–2; *MM*, 5, no. 7 (August 8, 1475), 72; *MM*, 5, no. 9 (January 22, 1478), 73. For offices, see *MM* 5, no. 5, 70–1 (September 30, 1469), mentioning μισέρ Φραγγέσκον Δαριάν as captain of Zakynthos, and όφρικιαλλέοι μας μεγάλοι και μικροί; *MM*, 5, no. 6, 71–2 (May 15, 1471) (κουβερνάτωρ και αντίτυπέ μου Ἰακίνθοου Νθοανέλ δὲ Βηντεμέλια); Leonardo’s diatagm to the monastery of Prodromos, (1478 in St. Maure), in Hiotes, Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα, vol. 2, 249 (as μασρομασαρόν τῆς κουρτῆς); Hiotes, *op. cit.*, 250, n. 34 (*Io Ambrosio Monauli sopramassaro dell isola di Zakynthos*). For some colonized Italian families, see Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 5, 153–6 (May 19, 1502); ASN, ATM, *Titoli, onorificenze e nomine, busta* 13, fasc. 23, first document (March 25, 1478 in St. Maure; certified copy, January 19, 1693), fols. 1–2. Konomos, Εκκλησίες και μοναστήρια στὴ Ζάκυνθο, 143. For some other people of this circle, see *Appendix I*,

184. For the church of St. Demetrios, ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 59 (4th Idae, 1476) (the pontifical version is a *deperditum*). Despite the church's dedication to the saint commonly associated with the Byzantine Orthodoxy, the fact that the Pope confirmed its renovation confirms that it was intended for the Catholic rite. For Leonardo's marriage with Francesca, see ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 43, 60r–60v (February 26, 1477, on Leukas), uncertified copy.

Dove se trova la Patria?

The Venetian documents from the late 1470s report that the Ottoman armada, led by Ahmed-pasha, attacked the Tocco lands from Valona, the town they had just conquered in Albania. Spandugnino, and some historians who later accepted his account, hinted that the final Ottoman offensive was provoked by Leonardo after he refused to send the usual *haraçi* tribute to the Ottomans. Another version says that the Ottomans were irritated by his link with the Venetians, who waged an open war against them since 1463. There is also a third interpretation, according to which Leonardo was 'sold' to the Ottomans by the Venetians following their peace with the Ottomans (January 25, 1479) because the *Signoria* wanted his domain and could not allow the reinforcement of his links with Naples. For the Ottomans, none of these reasons had to be important – in 1479, the Tocco domain was one of the last Christian points on a new map of the Balkans they were drawing and it is hard to believe that they would have let it survive for any longer period of time.¹⁸³

A seemingly sincere attestation about the Ottoman conquest of the Tocco Heptanese was left by the Venetian *bailo*, Benedict Trevisan, who reported on how the Venetian navy commanders around Corfu greeted and honored Ahmed-pasha on his way towards Leukas. At around the same time, the Venetians were preparing to additionally facilitate the Tocco fall, so their representative on Zakynthos, immediately after he learned about the fall of Kefalonia, took over the island for the *Signoria*.¹⁸⁴

Ironically enough, the last Tocco who ruled the Ionian Islands fled from his domain on a Venetian ship. In early autumn 1479, Leonardo and his family landed in Taranto, thus joining the multitude of Easterners who sought shelter from the Ottomans in the Apennines. Behind they left the realm on the Ionian islands in flames. Their land was plundered, their castles devastated, their officials killed and subjects enslaved by the Ottomans. Soon afterwards, most of the material evidence about the

family's rule in the Greek realm vanished, partly because of the Ottoman and Venetian 'policies of oblivion,' partly because of the natural disasters that later occurred on the islands.¹⁸⁵

The Tocco Greek episode closed in Naples, just where it had started a century and a half before. Leonardo had close kin there – his paternal relatives of Pietro's branch, his maternal relatives of the Ventimiglia family, as well as the royal lineage of his second wife Francesca Marzano, were all reported as important connections for his re-establishment in the *Patria*. In addition, Leonardo was still the vassal of the Kingdom in Naples, and this fact should have made the actual change of his residence largely irrelevant. The 'Greek' Tocco always saw themselves as Latin and Italian, and from this aspect too, one could argue that Leonardo's accommodation in Naples was a quick and easy return to the family's origins. To these arguments, modern historians added a generally warm reception of the refugees by the Aragons,¹⁸⁶ as well as the concessions and privileges in the domains of Monte Sarchio, Sinopoli, and Monopoli Leonardo had already received from his suzerains before the fall of his domain. Equally, the proofs of the family's successful repatriation were found in a quick advancement of some members: Leonardo's brother Giovanni became the pontifical protonotary; his eldest son, Carlo III, entered the military service to the Sforza and later to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I Habsburg (1493–1519), while Leonardo's second-born son Ferdinand was a diplomat at the court of King Henry VII of England (1485–1509) in 1506.¹⁸⁷

Compared to the anonymous multitude of the indigenous Greek refugees or the lower nobility of the Balkans who, soon upon their arrival to the Apennines, sank in various settlement troubles, Leonardo and his family were indeed among the privileged few. They certainly had no reason to lament on their fate as did some other refugee rulers at the time, like Bosnian Queen-mother Catherine, Despot of Morea Thomas Palaiologos and his children, or Queen of Cyprus Charlotte Lusignan. Yet, several details show that the Tocco still did not take their repatriation well, and that they, in fact, perceived it as unjust exile.¹⁸⁸

Just like the majority of other refugees from the Byzantine East, Leonardo III experienced initial settlement troubles and a decline of his status. Notably, the support from his Neapolitan suzerain turned out to have been of a more declarative nature. The lands granted to him in the Kingdom by King Ferrante were only but a confirmation of the situation

that had already existed before and were not enough to sustain himself, his family and his dependants. Also, Leonardo expected concrete military help from the King so that he could re-establish in his Greek domain, to later realize that the King, in fact, expected him to participate in the manoeuvres of the Aragon army on the Apennines which left little perspective for the family's restoration on the Heptanese. As the time passed, Leonardo's chances to even enter the highest circles of the Neapolitan nobility around the King significantly diminished.¹⁸⁹

Almost immediately upon his repatriation, Leonardo faced financial troubles too. A document of October 1480, mentions him as indebted with twelve thousand ducats to the King and six hundred ducats to his own wife. The conclusion that Leonardo's financial troubles were not relieved by his suzerain can be confirmed by the information of the famous Roman diarist, Jacopo Gherardi da Volterra. This one noted that in February 1480 – less than half a year after his landing to the Apennines – Leonardo asked subsidies (*"vitae subsidia"*) from Pope Sixtus IV in Lateran, as well as the conscription of his son to the pontifical service. In order to enhance his social and economic standing, sometime later Leonardo III joined the supporters of the French army that took over Naples in 1495. However, neither this could significantly change his position – King Charles VIII granted to him a domain in Monopoli (in the Capetanate of Bari) that was far from Naples and, even worse, exposed to a potential Ottoman attack from the sea, which, at the time, was highly probable.¹⁹⁰

As the examples from the past and our present-day knowledge of the human migrations show, successful repatriation does not depend only on official institutional reception, but also on a large-scale acceptance by a local society. Knowing that the Neapolitans, just like the population of other Italian towns, were generally well-disposed towards the refugees, as well as that the 'Greek' Tocco had close relatives there, one might conclude that Leonardo and his family found strong support among their Neapolitan peers. After all, Leonardo's paternal relatives in Naples were direct offspring of the Tocco figures supported in Greece by Leonardo's great grand-father, Carlo I, which means that Leonardo could have expected them return the favor and help him through the troubled times.¹⁹¹

The solidarity of the closer Neapolitan relatives, however, was not recorded in the family sources and it is a sad fact that the husband of the sister of Leonardo's second wife, or a relative of some distant Tocco branch

were of more help to Leonardo than the offspring of Pietro's branch. Leonardo's maternal family proved a bit more reliable. His maternal grandfather, Giovanni Ventimiglia, had left a part of his own possessions (the castle and the domain of *Monte Sarchio*) to Leonardo even before the Tocco repatriated. Sometime later, from his maternal relatives Leonardo also received the domain of St. Maure in Sicily. However, even there Leonardo was not received well unanimously by all kinsmen and the family documentation reveals that he spent the last years of his life in a dispute with his maternal uncle *Henricus*, who denied him the right to the *Monte Sarchio* domain. Eventually, the domain was taken from Leonardo and this, consequently, silenced his uncle, but it never turned to his family as the King used it to cover Leonardo's debt, offering him, as the reminder of the balance, one minor possession in the *terra Sinopoli*.¹⁹²

Leonardo's settlement difficulties are also embedded in the evidence of several, at first glance minor family procedures. Quite an indicative one is the name-giving pattern of the Tocco generations born in Italy, based on a strict repetition of the names that had been significant in the family's Greek episode, most notably Carlo and Leonardo. Leonardo and his offspring also frequently stressed the 'glorious' details (e.g. titles) of their Greek past, as well as the dramatic circumstances of their escape (their ship was reportedly set on fire by the Ottomans), the loss of their land or the heroic character of their resistance to the Ottomans. Significantly, they consistently repeated these details in the circles from which they expected concrete help, thus obviously trying to improve their actual status by negotiating the significant details of their pasts with their actual needs.¹⁹³

Another sign of the difficulties the Tocco witnessed upon their repatriation emerges from the fact that a great number of their social connections in Naples were other émigrés from Greece and adjacent areas. Interestingly, many of these connections were of a lower social status than the Tocco, such as Albanian petit-lords Giovanni and Constantine Musachi, Greek intellectual Konstantinos Laskaris, or a Georgios Strategopoulos, a kinsman of a Greek family that had served Leonardo's ancestors in Greece. Through these connections the Tocco stressed their Greek identity, the same one they refuted so strongly during their life in Greece.¹⁹⁴

Our present-day knowledge about the stages of migrations, especially the forced ones, suggests that the lack of institutional support, financial problems, and the lack of wider support in a society are the factors that

usually induce certain negative emotions among the refugees. In the Tocco case, the discontent with their new status, was annotated in the complaints of Leonardo's son Carlo III who lamented about his bitter destiny and "calamity":

[we kindly ask your Excellency to take into consideration] "the miserable occasion in which they find themselves, having been deprived from their royal states, and services continued from their predecessors, like the most just prince, beg Her [=Majesty, feminine gender in Italian – N.Z.] to have compassion towards their calamity and rejection by the fortune, and to permit that, if [She, the Majesty – N.Z.] has power to give them so large estate, they are treated and honored as are treated and honored descendants of royal houses, since, having lost their states, they still have not lost their dignity...such as the heirs and descendents of the despots of Romania and Arta, as the most serene houses of Serbia, Komnenoi and Palaiologoi, both imperial houses of Constantinople" (*l'occasione miserabile per la quale si ritrovano privi de loro stati reali, e l servizj continuati da' loro antecessori, come giustissimo principe, la supplicano a compaire la loro calamità e jattura della fortuna e non permettere che, se ha havuto potenza de toglierli così gran stato [...] siano trattati e honorati come se trattano e honorano li discendenti di case reali [...] ancorche sia perso lo stato, non hanno però perduto la dignità [...] com' heredi e discendenti così de' despoti di Romania e Arta, come delle serenissime case di Servia, Comnena e Paleologa, ambedue case imperiali di Constantinopoli [...]*).¹⁹⁵

Sometimes, refugees, dissatisfied with their new life conditions, make a radical decision to return to the land they had deserted. Two such cases were recorded among the Tocco. According to Volterra and the Venetian documentary evidence, one of Leonardo's sons fled to Corfu via Venice. There he joined a group of local outlaws, probably in an attempt to re-conquer his father's domain. His subsequent fate remains uncertain, but one could conclude – as suggested by a Venetian document – that the Venetians informed the Ottomans about his presence in the region and that his death was the consequence of this Venetian action. The second case of a Tocco returning to the Greek realm almost coincided in time with the first one – Leonardo's youngest brother Antonio is said to have succeeded in re-establishing his power over Kefalonia between 1481 and 1483. His success, however, was not meant to last for long, as he was disorganized and not much liked by the local population or the Venetians, who both might have stood behind his eventual murder.¹⁹⁶

Deep and bitter as it reportedly must have been, the Tocco discontent with their exile eased with a new family generation, born and educated in Italy.¹⁹⁷ This generation adopted the challenges of their repatriated status and oriented themselves towards diplomacy, mercenary military service, conjugal connections with the local nobility and trade, in many cases far from Naples. Their nobility was reinforced again, mostly through a number of new royal donations, which also facilitated a modification in their identity; since the 17th century they started to identify themselves through their possession of Montemiletto in the province of Avellino, region Campania. In 1617, the successors of Leonardo III obtained the legacy of the main Neapolitan family branch, keeping their leadership of the kindred uninterrupted until the beginning of the twentieth century when their last direct descendent died in a car crash. But, just as the 'Greek' Tocco were finalizing their restoration in Naples, a bizarre retrograde detail re-emerged from their self-identification – the seventeenth-century offspring of the 'Greek' Tocco started to increasingly highlight the Greek assets of their noble status. It did not take long to see that this evocation was not the sign of some late Greek self-consciousness, but, a useful adoption device with which the enterprising kinsmen attempted to improve their new realities as dignitaries with an imperial lineage.¹⁹⁸

¹⁸³ The sources largely agree that the islands fell to the Ottomans in late summer (August–September 1479). Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 1, 96–99; *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, 40: 11 (August–September, 1479), 313; vol. 1, 53: 27 (August 17, 1479), 383; no. 54: 22, 390; no. 66: 8, 514; no. 77: 6, 576; Morosini, *Corsi di penna*, 86. Cf. Remondini, *Estratto*, 344; *Relatio viri nobilis ser Nicolai Maripetri*, in Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 6, 123; Magnò, 208. For some reconsiderations of the chronology, see *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 2, 520–1. On various interpretations of the Tocco fall, see Spandugnino, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani*, 166–7; Magnò, *Estratti*, 208; Francesco Sansovino, *Historia universale dell' origine, guerre ed imperio de Turchi* (Venice: Zazzara, 1567), 197; Remondini, *Estratto*, 345; Miller, *The Latins*, 485–488; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 212; Zachariadou, "Les Tocco," 18.

¹⁸⁴ A document of September 7, 1479, in Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 1, 96–99. ASVen, *Sen. Secr.* 29, fols. 34v–35r (44v–44r), referred to St. Maure and Kefalonia as the places already abandoned by the Tocco and devastated by the Ottomans. The Venetian activities on Zakynthos were reported by Benedicto Trevisano, Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 1, 96–9. This island was given by Sultan Bayezit II to Venice on April 22, 1484.

¹⁸⁵ Remondini, *Estratto*, 345, Hiotes, *Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα*, vol. 2, 266 and Miller, *The Latins*, 485, noted that the Tocco took their treasury with them. Among the most

important items of this treasury was the foot of St. Anna, after which their later residence in Naples (Palazzo Tocco in the current Via Toledo) was called *il Palazzo sulla Piede*. Magnò, *Estratti*, 208 suggested that the Tocco landed in Apulia. For the destruction of the islands, Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 1, 96–9 and 99–101; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 5, (May 22, 1499), 76–7; *ibid.*, (June, 1545), 175; a Venetian *capitulum* dating from February 1, 1508, as from Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 5, 78; Domenico Malipiero, *Annali Veneti dall'anno 1457 al 1500*, eds. Francesco Longo – Agostino Sagredo, in *ASI 7* (Firenze: Viesseux 1843), vol. 1, 123 (April 29, 1480). Spandugnano, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani*, 167, narrated that the islands' inhabitants ended up in Constantinople, being mated, upon the order of the sultan, with black slaves from Africa in order to produce a "gray race."

¹⁸⁶ Mazzella, *Descrittione*, 647; Remondini, *Estratto*, 345; Miller, *The Latins*, 487; Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, 97, n. 66; del Vasto, *Baroni nel tempo*, 23.

¹⁸⁷ The conclusion about a positive attitude of the ruling elite in the West was noted by Alan Frederick Charles Ryder, "The Eastern Policy of Alfonso the Magnanimous," *Atti della Accademia Pontaniana* 28 (1979): 7–25; Jonatan Harris, *Greek émigrés in the West 1400–1520* (Camberley, Surrey: Porphyrogenitus, 1995), 62 and 72. Cf. Nicolae Iorga, "The Exiles," in *id.*, *Byzantium after Byzantium*, transl. from Romanian Laura Treptow (Iași – Oxford – Portland: The Center for Romanian Studies, 2000), 31–56. On the settlement pattern of the refugees in Naples, Harris, *Greek émigrés*, 28–9. For Leonardo's possessions in Italy, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 5, perg. no. 209 (October 29, 1480 in Montefusco); ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 216 (October 5, 1493 in castro Mocte Calimere); ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 224 (May 23, 1495, the copy of a privilege from April 1, 1495). For the engagements of the Tocco in diplomatic service, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 232 (May 21, 1505 "prope portam s. marie de populo in Roma"), mentioning Giovanni Giacomo di Tocco *protonotario apostolico*; Morosini, *Corsi di penna*, 88. Also, see Miller, *The Latins*, 487.

¹⁸⁸ Among the works that pointed out to a decrease of the social status and generally slow integration of the refugees from the East, see James G. Ball, "Poverty, Charity, and the Greek Community," *Studi Veneziani* n.s. 6 (1982): 129–60, Jonathan Harris, *Greek émigrés*, 9–39, and Paolo Petta, *Despoti d'Epiro e principi di Macedonia: esuli albanesi nell'Italia del Rinascimento* (Lecce: Argo, 2000), 7–8. The catalogue of the first Greek convent in Venice, published by Antonios Pardos, "Αλφαβητικός κατάλογος των πρώτων μελών της Ελληνικής Αδελφότητας Βενετίας από το κατάστιχο 129 (1498–1530): Β'–Γ' γυναικες," *Thesaurismata* 17 (1980): 149–205, mentions several nuns from this area as settled in Venice. Generally about the high-profile refugees from the Balkans, see William Miller, "Balkan Exiles in Rome," in *id.*, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1964, unchanged reprint from 1921), 497–515.

¹⁸⁹ An evidence that the Tocco saw their repatriation as an exile can be found in ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 1, 11, fols. 12r–v. ASN, ATM, *ibid.*, fol. 3r; *ibid.*, fol. 8r; *ibid.*, 12r–v; ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 6, 3, fol. 95r. Cf. for some other similar cases of refugees/repatriates, Nada Zečević, "Searching for Acceptance: A Fifteenth-century Refugee's History," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000): 129–43; Bernard Doumerc, "Les Vénitiens confrontés au retour des repatriés de l'empire colonial d'outre-mer (fin XV^e–début XVI^e siècle)," in Alain Ducellier and Michael Balard, eds., *Migrations et diasporas méditerranéennes (X^e–XVI^e siècles)* (Paris: Sorbonne,

2002), 389–397. For Leonardo's military service, see Ricca, *La nobiltà*, vol. 3, 283, citing a letter of King Ferrante to the vice-king of Sicily (June 18, 1482). For Leonardo's unsuccessful infiltration to the Aragonese court (his son Carlo was to attend the entourage of the King's son), see The letter of King Ferrante to Leonardo III, in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 48, (January 26, 1490), 354.

¹⁹⁰ ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 5, perg. no. 209 (October 29, 1480 in Montefusco), (partly published in Ricca, *La nobiltà*, vol. 3, 286), with the King's letters attached to Martino Marzali and Leonardo Tocco (October 20, 1480), ordering Leonardo to sell his domain in *Monte Sarchi* in order to cover the debt. This document also mentions Leonardo as indebted to his wife Francesca, who renounced the debt some time later, as from ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 216 (October 5, 1493 in castro Mocete Calimere) (partly published in Ricca, *La nobiltà*, vol. 3, 286) and ASN, ATM, *Titoli, onorificenze e nomine*, busta 13, fol. 68v (February 5, 1495). Financial difficulties of the Tocco were recorded even in the time of Leonardo's son Ferdinando, as from ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 2, perg. no. 71 (February 5, 1522). For Leonardo's supplication to the Pope, see Jacobus Gherardi da Volterra, "Il diario Romano," p. 12, lns. 8–12 (ad ann. 1480), the last day of February. Leonardo was received by Pope Sixtus IV with sympathies, for which reason he was granted one thousand golden ducats plus an annual provision of two thousand golden ducats and a promise to support a campaign Leonardo planned for the restoration of his islands. For Carlo's siding with the French party in Naples, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 224 (May 23, 1495), which is a copy of the privilege of King Charles VIII to Leonardo III Tocco from April 1, 1495. Cf. a similar case of Constantine Arianiti in Petta, *Despoti d'Epiro*, 151. The French domination in Naples was marked as the beginning of the 'Greek' branch's recovery by del Vasto, *Baroni nel tempo*, 23.

¹⁹¹ A. W. Ager, *Refugees: Perspectives on the Experience of Forced Migration* (London–New York: Pinter, 1999), 9. On the hostility of the local people towards the Byzantine refugees in Venice, see Donald Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 416–8. Cf. Harris, *Greek émigrés*, 72–84. Aragon concessions to Algasio of the 'Italian' branch can be found in ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 50 (May 3, 1438): la baronia di Tocco; *ibid.*, perg. no. 51 (May 5, 1438); *ibid.*, perg. no. 52 (May 6, 1438); *ibid.*, perg. no. 53 (October 19, 1451); "Commune Summarie," in *FA*, vol. 4, no. 114 (October 9, 1445 in Naples), 34.

¹⁹² Jacobus Gherardi da Volterra, "Il diario Romano," p. 12, 27–p. 13, ln. 1 (ad ann. 1480), recorded this person as Leonardo's "nepos Antonius," the husband of Catherina, the sister of Francesca Marzano. It is possible that the Neapolitan Tocco did not help their relatives because around the time of their repatriation they were engaged in a family dispute. This can be assumed from a document in ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 60 (June 6, 1477 in Naples) where one finds out that Algasio's daughter Maria required her dowry from her brother Niccolò for several years (since 1472). As from ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 5, perg. no. 206 (August 25, 1480), while the 'Neapolitan' branch still resided in the 'old' Porta Capuana quarter where Leonardo I and Carlo I Tocco had resigned their inheritance a few decades before, the Tocco repatriates established their new home in the quarter of *Piazza Nilo* which did not stress so much the antiquity of the local aristocrats but rather indicated the closeness of its inhabitants to the Aragon court (Carlo Celano, *Notizie del bello, bell' antico e del curioso della città di Napoli*, ed. Giovanni Battista Chiarini, vol. 3 [Napoli: Floriana, 1858], 633). As suggested by a seventeenth-century document in

ASN, ATM, *Titoli, onorificenze e nomine*, busta 13, fol. 52r, the new residence of the Greek branch was in the vicinity of the Giesomaria church and had a garden and a source of water. Significantly, it was not just close to the Aragon court, but also to the area of the Vicaria where the residences of some other refugees they had known from the East were recorded (e.g. Celano, *Notizie del bello*, vol. 3, 49 for the Castrioti). The contact of the 'Greek' Tocco with the kinsmen of some less prominent branches in this period is documented in ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 224 (May 23, 1495); ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 226 (April 4, 1499); ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 42 (August 30, 1504), fols. 196r–203r. For the grant of Leonardo's grand-father, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 221 (March 10, 1495), being a copy of the King's donation of Monte Sarchio (March 6, 1462) to Giovanni Ventimiglia. ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, no. 223 (May 4, 1495 in Mesina), being a copy of an act dating from October 8, 1474. During the 1490s (ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 28, fol. 209v, being a copy of Ventimiglia's last-will from 1495), Antonio of Ventimiglia was nominated as a *procurator* in charge with granting Leonardo III with a "castrum montis sarchij cum tota baronia et districtu." This document also informs us that Leonardo was to receive, on a *pura simplex* basis, the land and the castle "montis Parisij regni Neapolis" from his maternal grand-father. For the land in Sicily, see ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 28, fols. 207v and 209v; ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 226 (April 4, 1499). For Leonardo's dispute with his uncle, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 226 (April 4, 1499) and ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 42, fols. 196r–203r (August 30, 1504), where the Tocco procurator asked from Henricus the money of Raymunda's dowry (ten thousand florins in the Neapolitan currency) which this one had appropriated for a period of one hundred years as a return to their possession of St. Maure in Sicily. For the donation of Sinopoli, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 216 (October 5, 1493, *in castro Mocte Calimere*).

¹⁹³ On the situational use of the Tocco titles, see Jacobus Gherardi da Volterra, "Il diario Romano," p. 12, Ins. 12–16 (ad ann. 1480); Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, 2: 1, no. 49, 355. An epitaph of Alfonso Maniquez (1621) in the church of Patri riformati di Santa Maria di Gesù nelle campagne di Palermo, as from Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμικτα*, vol. 1, 110: ERAM DE SANGUINE REAM

CUI GENUS ET PATRIA BETHICA TERRA TULIT.

CARUS EGO MARIAE TOCCO DE STEMMALI GRAIUM

CUI GENUS A QUO IDEM SANGUINIS EXTAT HONOR [...].

On Leonardo's stress on the dramatic circumstances of his escape and 'unjust' Ottoman deprivation of his land before Pope Sixtus IV, see Jacobus Gherardi da Volterra, "Il diario Romano," p. 12, Ins. 20–24 (ad ann. 1480). As from Zachariadou, "Les Tocco," 19 and nn. 34–35, according to some Ottoman sources, one daughter of Leonardo III was left on St. Maure, where she was captured by the Ottomans. This documentation seems to suggest the interest of the Papacy and the French king in liberating her, yet the family records are silent about this person and episode.

¹⁹⁴ Ager, *Refugees*, 10–11. For the connection of the Tocco and the Musachi comes out from ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 43, fols. 173r–174v. An example of Leonardo's connection with Strategopoulos, ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 6, perg. no. 217 (March 8, 1494 in Naples) who was the Tocco servitor ("servitia personalia").

¹⁹⁵ Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2, no. 49, 355. Cf. Forcella, *Iscrizioni*, vol. 2, no. 39, p. 13, an epitaph of Giovanni Tocco in the church St. Maria Nuova in Rome (1511): "IOANNES. TOCHO. SER.mo. DNO. ARTHE. DESPOTO. A SECRETIS. VIR. COMPSVS. INTEGERRIMVSQUE. [...]. For a useful general account on the processes of identity change during migrations, see Olga Seweryn, "Identity Change as a Consequence of the Migration Experience," in *Imaging Frontiers, Constructing Identities*, eds. Steven G. Ellis and Lud'a Klusáková (Pisa: Edizioni Plus, 2007), 21–42.

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Jacobus Gherardi da Volterra, "Il diario Romano," p. 81, Ins. 10–11 (ad ann. 1481), where he similarly accounted how Manuel Palaiologos (the elder son of Despot Thomas Palaiologos) left the pontifical protection and returned to Greece, where he was reportedly "warmly" accepted by the Sultan and confessed Islam. On Leonardo's son Ferdinand and his return to the islands, Jacobus Gherardi da Volterra, "Il diario Romano," p. 13, Ins. 2–9 (ad ann. 1480). Parts of Volterra's account are confirmed by a Venetian document in Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 193, 279–80. For Antonio, see a Venetian document in Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 1, 103–6 (January 16, 1483); Morosini, *Corsi di penna*, 86–7; Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 1, 103–6 (January 16, 1483).

¹⁹⁷ Reccho, *Notizie*, 50, noted that the Tocco repatriates born in Italy succeeded to enter the royal *Anticamera de' Titoli in Palazzo* during the second generation born in Italy (mid-sixteenth century). For the military careers of some of them (namely, Fernando and Leonardo IV), see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta 6*, perg. no. 248 (April 4, 1525); ASN, ATM, *Titoli, onorificenze e nomine, busta 13*, fol. 82r, is a registered copy from 1559. For some of their marriages (e.g. Eleanor Manriquez Velara de Tocco married baron Carini, Don Pietro la Grua, on January 31, 1525), see Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 1, 109–10. For *Ippolita*, the sister of Carlo III ("sorella del despota dell'Arta") in Rome and Carlo's possessions there, see ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili, busta 6*, perg. no. 236 (June 9, 1516). For the Tocco of the subsequent epochs as engaged in commerce (Niccolò Tocco, 18th–19th centuries, among the most prominent such figures), see ASN, ATM, *Carte finanziarie e giudiziarie, busta 191*.

¹⁹⁸ The transfer of the family authority from the Neapolitan to the Greek branch (1617), reflected in the family documents, was also elaborated by Ludovico de la Ville sur-Yllon, "Il corso Vittorio Emanuele," *Napoli nobilissima* 9: 12 (1900): 180–1. As a reflection of the Tocco self-identification, the reference to their imperial and Greek lineage appears in ASN, ATM, *Titoli, onorificenze e nomine, busta 13*, fol. 82r, a registered copy dating from 1559 ("sanguis Regis de greci"); ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia, busta 11*, 1, 3, fol. 6v: "[Leonardo III] homo Grecus," and *ibid.*, "Grieco natione"; Tsitseles, *Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα*, vol. 1, 110: "Carus ego Mariae Tocco de Stemmalis Graium." Similarly were the Tocco seen by the others, see Mariana, *Historia general*, book 2, chapt. 11, fol 11; Jacobus Gherardi da Volterra, "Il diario Romano," p. 12, Ins. 13–16 (ad ann. 1480). An interesting reference to their Greek past and their new realities can be seen on pictorial representations of Leonardo I and Carlo I in the Tocco Palace in Naples (as reproduced in Fokas-Kosmetatos, *Το κάστρο*, plates 10 and 11), where the two most important Greek Tocco were represented as horsemen in the styles usually shown for kings Louis XIII and Louis XIV. For the Tocco strategies during the modern era, see Michèle Benaiteau, "Una nobiltà di lunga durata: strategie e comportamenti dei Tocco di Montemiletto," in *Signori, Patrizi, e Cavalieri in età moderna*, ed. M. A. Visceglia (Bari: Laterza, 1992): 193–213.

In Conclusion

The Greek saga of the Neapolitan Tocco ended up in the catastrophic loss of their domain, bringing to the family a variety of repatriation difficulties in Naples. Evidently, the key condition that caused the destruction of their power was the Ottoman conquest of the family's domain on the Ionian islands. It was the fate no fifteenth-century Balkan ruler could escape.

The conditions that prompted the build-up of the family's power are certainly more complex than those that lead to its destruction. The early-modern family tradition stressed the imperial power in Constantinople and its distant legendary ancestry as the key sources of the family's might and prominence, but their real origins have to be searched in the socio-political contexts of the Italian South between the 11th and the 13th centuries, when several Tocco branches differentiated as landed nobility. Some of their chief leaders participated in the royal administrations of the Norman and Hohenstaufen Kingdoms, while the Angevin establishment in Naples in 1266 brought to some Tocco the possibility to further advance, first by moving towards the urban areas of the Angevin capital, then by entering the royal entourage, most notably as soldiers and counselors of the princely house of Taranto. This connection with the house of Taranto paved the family's way to the Angevin zone of interest in Greece, first for Guillelmo Tocco who served as his suzerain's governor on Corfu (1328–1335), then to his junior son Leonardo who took over the administration of the Ionian islands. Leonardo's advancement must have been additionally reinforced by his marriage connection with the Buondelmonti-Acciaiuoli clan whose chief Niccolò shaped the politics of the Angevin Kingdom in Naples and specially protected the princely House of Taranto. These links of Leonardo were of a private nature, but they had great socio-political potential, allowing Leonardo ally more firmly with the most powerful coalition in the peninsula (Popes in Rome – Angevins in Naples – Florentine Guelph 'ancient' aristocracy). Their interests he supposedly represented and served in Greece.

Starting from around the mid-1350s, Leonardo's establishment in the Heptanese as Count palatine originally involved his control of the islands of Kefalonia, Zakynthos and Ithaka. This, however, was not enough to sustain his ambitions, so soon upon his ensconement on the islands, Leonardo expanded to the island of Leukas which he took from the Venetians. His possession of Leukas brought Leonardo into a closer relationship with the authorities of the Venetian Republic. An important segment of this relationship pertained to loyalty. In 1361, the *Serenissima* granted him with the Venetian citizenship. This act promised him formal security, and some new perspectives for any further territorial expansion or even facultal independence from the royal court in Naples. Soon, however, the Tocco lord and his successors realized that the expectations of their new suzerain could also go against the family's interests and alliances.

Another circumstance that directly affected the Tocco power in Greece was the family's expansion to Epiros and the Peloponnese, which took place under Leonardo's son Carlo (r. 1390–d. c.1429). This stage of the domain's extension was a long process in which Carlo had to confront with the majority of his immediate neighbors. This required a massive build-up of the family's military capacity and finances, and it took Carlo almost four decades to accomplish it, not just with army, but also with significant diplomatic resources and strategies he had to devise just for this aim.

Carlo's success, best reflected in his possession of Epirote centers Ioannina and Arta and his assumption of the Byzantine ruling prerogatives (title of Despot) deriving from his power over Epiros are nowadays considered to have been the peak of the family's power. However, Carlo's conquests lacked effective administration and true interaction with the local subjects, which is why the Tocco power declined almost immediately after Carlo's death. Consequently, the entire Epiros was lost to the Ottomans in 1430–1449, while the insular part of the Tocco domain slowly decayed till the final Ottoman conquest in 1479.

Essentially, the family's success and their decline in Greece are mainly the issues of the political nature. Sometimes, however, these tendencies were directly related to the family's internal organization and power relations among the kinsmen. As a kindred, the Tocco seem to have been structured around the end of the 13th century, but in the first half of the 14th century their organization was still unstable, namely due to the principle of primogeniture that allowed only the eldest sons inherit the family

domain. Thus, if a junior male offspring wanted to independently advance in the society, he had to look for new opportunities to gain his own status and wealth. Leonardo I accomplished this by leaving his elder brother Pietro who led the kindred in Naples and migrating to the zone of the Angevin interest in Greece. In Greece, Leonardo first exercised his authority over his own nuclear family and clientele, but, as his political power grew, this authority soon became a dynastic web of members' roles and interests, controlled in each generation by the family's formal representative of the domain. Again, the legitimacy of this status observed the principle of a vertical primogeniture obtained through a legal marriage. Leonardo's heir was his eldest son Carlo, who, then, continued the Neapolitan practice, transferring the domain to the eldest son of his junior brother because his own male offspring was not procreated in a legitimate marriage. This pattern changed during Carlo's expansion to Epiros and the Peloponnese, when he needed reliable assistance in military affairs and government. For this reason, Carlo entrusted his own sons with large powers and benefits. In consequence, after their father's death, they too required to be included in the family's inheritance procedure. This demand contradicted the ideal model of vertical succession and the related Neapolitan inheritance practice, thus initiating a true family war between Carlo's legitimate heir and his cousins. The war lasted for several years and cost the entire domain a great loss of resources, harmfully exposing it to the Venetians and the Ottoman groups who allied with both rival sides. The final settlement between the two parties introduced a new pattern of inheritance, different from the previous primogeniture practice. It acknowledged horizontal property distribution, thus allowing all relatives of one generation, regardless of their legal status, inherit parts of the domain. In consequence, the fragmentation of the family's domain in Epiros was prompted. The dispute also challenged the family authority, so Carlo II, being the legitimate heir of Carlo I, took on the family legate, but lost the power to oversee and directly control his uncle's illegitimate sons who, in their domains, acted as fully independent rulers.

Another modification that specifically affected the internal organization of the family since Carlo I was their privatization of feudal bonds. The most apparent example of this process can be seen in the position of Carlo's junior brother Leonardo, who played a remarkable role in the domain's administration and military affairs. At first, Leonardo's service to his brother must have been a part of a regular division of competences among the kinsmen, but since the late 1390s, Leonardo's activities were

clearly documented as a feudal service for which he received conditional possessions from his elder brother. The most notable *feudum* he received from Carlo was the island of Zakynthos, one of the central places of the family's power with the chapel of Christ the Redeemer that served as the family's common burial place, thus holding the central place in the family's memory and identity.

While investing his brother with a place connected to the family's origins in Greece, Carlo relocated his own power locations and symbols into the towns of St. Maure on Leukas and Ioannina in Epiros, both acquired during his political and military expansion. Carlo also redefined the position of Kefalonia, which, in the times of his father, had hosted the key family residence (St. George) and connected the Tocco with their original palatine title and power over the Heptanese. Now, this island was governed freely by Carlo's wife Francesca, whose court acted independently there even after Carlo's death; later, some parts of the island were distributed to the Tocco women – in the times of Carlo II and Leonardo III, these were transferred as a dowry to the Tocco brides.

In addition to their internal consolidation, a great degree of personal commitment, military power and political skills of their family leaders – most notably, Leonardo I and Carlo I – can all be taken as the elements of the Tocco transformation from a junior branch to independent rulers of the Ionian islands. Carlo I particularly excelled in communication, which specially helped him expand his diplomatic resources and alliances from the original circle of the Italian Guelphs towards various political factors in the medieval Balkans: Albanian lords of his neighborhood, the Republic of Genoa and its rival, the Venetian *Signoria*, the Ottoman commanders in charge with the Balkans, and Byzantine Emperors. To keep all these connections useful, Carlo used various diplomatic strategies and tools that ranged between bribes, 'cunning diplomacy,' sweet words, sharp tones and open threats.

Since Leonardo I, the Tocco relocation from Naples to Greece was seen as permanent. Leonardo sold his possessions in Naples, and till 1479 all his successors were born in Greece and rarely or even never went to Italy. Since Carlo I, the family's ruling identity was formally associated with the symbols of the Greek imperial power. By the time of Leonardo III, the family broke the incestuous circle of their endogamy with the Florentine Acciaiuoli and opened up to receive the local spouses of Greek, Albanian

or Serbian origin. The facts about the Tocco change of identity might prompt modern conclusions about the family's Hellenization. Such conclusions, however, are hasty. As can be seen from the evidence on the Tocco self-representation, their Greek trappings and symbols were usually displayed just in public, while deep beneath, the family decisively kept various elements of their Italian, Latin and Catholic identities, similarly as did other Latin groups that colonized the Greek East.

In politics and military, the Tocco usually associated themselves with the Angevin Naples. Even though the formal bonds of this attachment declined over time, the family's association with the Realm was largely preserved by all Tocco generations in Greece. The methods of this association often implied recruiting the family's servicemen and retainers from the Italian South, imitating Neapolitan models of bureaucracy and legal system, or just maintaining contacts with the kinsmen who remained in Naples. In terms of the language they spoke, the Tocco seemed more cosmopolitan, as their daily communication implied a variety of vulgar Italian dialects (Venetian, Neapolitan, Florentine), Greek, Turkish, or even a specific form of the *lingua franca*. Latin, however, remained the family's power and administration language. Similar was with their religion. While in everyday life the family actively interacted with their local Orthodox subjects, through patronage and their political institutions it is clear that they attempted to affirm Catholicism on the islands; in doing so, they did not abstain even from openly expressing the lack of tolerance towards the rites and religious leaders of their subjects.

Another important change in the family's identity occurred after the Tocco repatriated to Naples in 1479. The loss of their status, financial troubles and generally difficult conditions of the family's restoration in the local society all prompted Leonardo III and his offspring to start frequently commemorating and stressing their Greek identity. However, these highlights, even though they were mostly related to their true familial and titular connections with the Byzantine Emperors, had an obvious situational role – to use the past in order to facilitate the needs of their new position.

To date, the ruling ambition of the 'Greek' Tocco has been differently assessed by scholars. Some saw it as a way to obtain the legitimate administration positions in Angevin Greece. To others, the Tocco were mere adventurous searchers for power and fortune in the Byzantine East. Either interpretation accepts that the Tocco ruled in Greece with a very

special sense of pragmatism. Usually not associated with medieval feudal aristocracy, this spirit of endeavor was most likely an outcome of the family's close interactions with various environments in the Apennines and Greece, and was one of the key tools that enabled the Tocco successfully organize and conduct life in a land that, to them, was foreign in many ways. Their preference of a rational and elaborated resolution was dominant in the family's alliance-making, war-waging and income-gaining. More importantly, the assets of the pragmatic rulership they built in Greece were the family's chief methods of survival during difficult moments such as Albanian attacks, the Ottoman conquest of the domain or their repatriation in Naples. In 1480, while trying to incite the most powerful people of the Apennines help him liberate the Tocco domain in the Heptanese, the leader of the repatriated 'Greek' branch, Leonardo III, reportedly said a humanistically toned sentence that would long afterwards be quoted as the key illustration of the family's pragmatism: "We may have lost our rings but we still did not lose our fingers." To date, apart from hinting at Leonardo's personal spirit of endeavor and his eagerness to restore to the lost rulership, this sentence has remained the best expression of the place the Greek realm had in the evolution of the Tocco family, their noble status and their ruling power.

* Jacobus Gherardi da Volterra, "Il diario Romano," p. 13, lns. 8–9 ("etsi anulos amisimus, nihilominus digitos integros retinemus"; opinor graecum esse proverbium"). Miller, *The Latins*, 487.

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Appendix I

Notes on chronology, genealogy and prosopography

The Tocco recorded by the beginning of the Angevin rule:

Name	Source
<i>Dona Laida, Dona Lariza, Dominus Philipus and iudex Guillelmus de Tocco.</i>	ASN, ATM, <i>Scritture riguardanti la famiglia</i> , busta 11, 1, (10), a nineteenth-century copy of the records of the St. Lupo church in Benevento.
<i>Domina Jacoba de Tocca</i> (d. 1196); <i>Helisabetha uxor Symonis de Tocco</i> (d. 1196); <i>Palmerius Pater D[omi]ni Petri de Tocco et Vincentii</i> ; <i>Alpherius et Dom[i]nus Petrus de Tocco</i> ; <i>D[omina] Agnesa uxor Jois de Tocco</i> ; <i>Robertus de Petro de Tocco.</i>	ASN, ATM, <i>Scritture diverse</i> , busta 39, fol. 106r, citing in 1613 a folio 27r of the Benevento archives. Parts of the <i>Archivio della collegiata di s. Spirito in Benevento</i> referring to the Tocco (fols. 16a and 23a) have been published by Pachichelli, <i>Il Regno di Napoli</i> , 233.
<i>Riccardo de Tocco</i> , his sons <i>Pietro</i> and <i>Diopuldo</i> , paying manorial tax to the count of Caserta.	Reg. Ang. vol. 14, no. 139, p. 155; Reg. Ang. vol. 20, no. 301, p. 137.
<i>Landulfo Tocco</i> , holding domains in Limata and Cerreto.	Montanaro Marinelli, <i>Pergamene di Vitulano e Tocco del periodo Normanno</i> , vol. 1, special edition of Cenacolo Fraggiano, 2, no. 5 (1974), as from the notes of Anthony T. Luttrell; Reg. Honor. III, vol. 2, no. 6173 (16, I, eleventh year of the pontificate/1226), p. 467; ASN, ATM, <i>Atti notarili</i> , busta 4, perg. 134 (1250, May [...], in Limata).
<i>Paulus</i> , the son of a <i>Johannes de Tocco</i> , and his son <i>Angelo</i> , both recorded as <i>cives et mercatores</i> in Rome during the late 1260s.	Reg. Ang. vol. 1, no. 256, p. 168 (September 28, 1268, in Rome); <i>ibid.</i> , no. 260, p. 169 (September 19, 1268, in Rome).

<i>Peter de Tocco</i> was recorded in Gaietta, the son of a <i>Ricterio mutator</i> .	Reg. Ang. vol. 14, no. 138, p. 154; <i>ibid.</i> , no. 139, p. 155. On Peter's father <i>Ricterio</i> , Reg. Ang. vol. 16, p. 192.
<i>Adam</i> (<i>feudi unius militis</i>), <i>Stultus</i> (<i>tenet in Tocco feudum unius militis</i>) and <i>Hugoletta</i> (<i>sic</i>) (<i>tenet pauper feudum in Tocco [...] Obtulit Se ipsum</i>).	ASN, ATM, <i>Scritture diverse</i> , busta 39, fols. 95r–v, certified copy (1613, August 30) of a letter from the destroyed Reg. Carlo II, 1322, lett. A, fol. 19. A copy of the same document, published in Borelli's edition, <i>Vindex</i> , 99, additionally mentions an "Achilles [who] tenet in tocco pauper feudum et cum augmento obtulit militem I."
<i>Conradus Tocco</i> (1320s), and <i>Andreas Tocco</i> , mentioned as <i>familiares</i> and <i>fideles</i> of the King in 1296.	<i>Descendencia della Excellentissima Casa Tocco</i> , ASN, ATM, <i>Scritture diverse</i> , busta 39, fols. 17r–23r.
<i>magister Johannes de Tocco, medicinalis sciencie doctor</i> served as a personal physician (<i>fiscus</i>) of Kings Charles I and Charles II.	Reg. Ang. vol. 36, no. 86, p. 14; Reg. Ang. vol. 44, no. 38, p. 12.
<i>nobilis Henricus de Tocco</i> was documented as the secretary of the Napolitan convent of <i>S. Maria di Capella</i> .	Reg. Ang. vol. 19, no. 28, p. 12 (August 20, 1278).
Dominican prior <i>Guillelmus</i> – disciple of St. Thomas of Aquinas and the inquisitor general of Sicily, enjoyed an exceptionally rare degree of confidence by King Charles II as his confessor.	ASN, ATM, <i>Scritture diverse</i> , busta 48, fols. 53r/57r, a copy of a document from destroyed Reg. Carl. II, 1303, fol. 118v; Reg. Ang. vol. 44, no. 49, p. 15, (December 16, 1292).
<i>Raynaldus de Tocco capellanus papae et poenitentiarius</i> .	Reg. Urban. IV, vol. 1, no. 25, p. 7 (1261, November 23, at Viterbo).
<i>miles Henricus Tocco de Neapoli</i> , also mentioned as <i>Henricus Luparelli de Tocco</i> together with a <i>Matheus</i> ; <i>Petrus</i> and <i>Riccardus</i> also recorded as <i>milites</i> .	Reg. Ang., vol. 30, no. 13, p. 15, (August 8, 1289, in Naples); ASN, ATM, <i>Scritture diverse</i> , busta 39, fol. 84r, is a certified copy (August 27, 1613) of the Roberti Registrum ad ann. 1324, fol. 289r, destroyed in the fire of 1943.

Burial place and date of death of Guillelmo Tocco:

Guillelmo was buried in the chapel of St. Aspreno which is located on the left side of the main altar in the Neapolitan Cathedral (*il Duomo*), where his sarcophagus can be still seen today. The inscription on his sarcophagus says that his death occurred on January 22, 1335, which largely confirms the chronology of the Angevin *quietanza* dated January 12, 1345.¹⁹⁹

The offspring of Guillelmo I Tocco:

To date, the identity of Guillelmo's children is still an open issue. According to the *quietanza* of Emperor Robert (Prince of Taranto) of 1345, Guillelmo had four sons: Pietro as the first-born, Niccolò, Ludovico (*Lisulo*, Louis) and Leonardo. While Pietro's position as the eldest son has commonly been accepted by the historians, the birth order of his brothers remains unclear. In addition to Guillelmo's offspring known to the modern historiography, some family records mention other children, namely a Marguerite, Caterina, Riccardo, and Francesco. Niccolò and Lisulo were dead by the early 1360s, while Pietro seems to have lived during the 1370s, when he was designated as the leader of the branch that resided in Naples (since then, his offspring was usually identified as 'of Pietro's branch'). The chronology of his last will in several copies dated 1383, suggests that this year was the *terminus ante quem* of his death.²⁰⁰

Other questions regarding Guillelmo's children are whether they were all born by the same mother and whether, as the family tradition suggests, their mother was a Marguerite Orsini, an alleged daughter of Despot Giovanni I Orsini. A fourteenth-century documentary hint suggests that Guillelmo was married to a *Giovanna Torella*; this, however, does not have to necessarily exclude the possibility that Guillelmo had children with other women too.²⁰¹ Up to date, there is no open documentary evidence that Guillelmo ever had any connection with a Marguerite Orsini.

The Orsini:

Originally from Rome, some Orsini were recorded in the Italian South as early as the last Hohenstaufen years, when they supported the pro-Angevin Guelph party. Several Orsini were recorded in Naples around the beginning of the 14th century. A *Giacomo* was granted the county of Tagliacozzo, a *Roberto* was a *iustitiarius* of Basilicata and Captain general

in one of the Angevin expeditions on Sicily, as well as the companion of Charles of Calabria in Tuscany. A *Napoleone* was recorded as a great *iustitiarius*, while his brother *Giovanni* was Archbishop of Naples. The residences of the "Neapolitan" Orsini were located in the regions of Calabria, Gravena and Catanzaro, but in the first half of the 14th century some of the kinsmen were recorded as residents in the noble Neapolitan Capuana quarter. These Orsini were connected with other prominent Angevin families in Naples and people (e.g. of the families of de Balzo and Sabrano) close to the Neapolitan Tocco were among their alliances. Throughout the Middle Ages and later, the Tocco and the Orsini were mutually linked through several marriages. To the 'Greek' branch, the most important connection was a reported marriage of Guillelmo with a Marguerite, the daughter of Despot Giovanni I Orsini who had ruled the Heptanese before the Tocco. This relationship was never directly confirmed in documents, but it represented the ground for the Tocco claim to one half of the Orsini inheritance in the Heptanese.²⁰²

Marriage of Leonardo I with Magdalena Buondelmonti:

Magdalena was the daughter of Niccolò's sister Lappa and Manente di Gherardo Buondelmonti. Her marriage to Leonardo was recorded as already enacted in May 1362, on which occasion they were mentioned as parents of one female child. Presuming that this child was *Petronella*, mentioned in 1372 to have been of mature age (i.e. mature for marriage, at least 12 years), one comes to 1360 as the probable year of her birth; consequently, the marriage of her parents would have been concluded some time prior to 1359, or that year at latest.²⁰³

The Buondelmonti:

The ancestral lands of this kindred were in the Florentine rural neighborhood (*contado*) in *Valli d'Elsa, pesa, greve, castello di montebuoni*, from where they relocated to Florence around 1135. Keeping their land in the mouth of Impruneto, and further developing their possessions by allying with the 'ancient' Florentine nobility (Uberti, Giandonati, Visdomini), the Buondelmonti sided with the Guelph party, taking active part in the political struggle of the thirteenth-century Florence. During the first Angevins in Naples, some Buondelmonti were recorded as residing in the Italian South, e.g. a *Ranieri Buondelmonti* who was a Captain general and *iusticiarius* of the terra di Bari in the time of Charles I. During the reign of

King Robert, Magdalena's father Manente was mentioned in Clarenza as an Acciaiuoli representative in 1341, while an Andreas Buondelmonti served as an Angevin governor in the county of Kefalonia on behalf of Niccolò Acciaiuoli. The circumstances of their appearance in Naples are not entirely clear, but one could presume that they stem from the attachment of the Florentine Guelphs to the Angevins. Due to a frequent branching and the lack of solidarity among its members, the clan dissolved by the end of the fifteenth century.

Niccolò Acciaiuoli:

Niccolò was the son of Acciauolo Acciaiuoli and Guillelma da Pazzi. His paternal family originated from Brescia in the North of the Appenines, renown at the time for its metal industry. From there, Niccolò's ancestors infiltrated into the Florentine nobility through marriage, with a Bartholomeo as one of the first kinsmen recorded in Naples. During the 1320s, the family made extensive investments in the Angevin Realm and Niccolò's presence in the Naples seems to have been directly connected with these activities. His advancement in the Neapolitan society started some time before 1331, when he attracted the attention of Prince Philip's wife, Empress Catherine of Valois. In return for his financial and private support (he was the tutor of her sons Robert and Louis), the Empress invested him with large possessions in Greece.²⁰⁴

The date of Leonardo's establishment in Greece:

Today, Leonardo's power over Kefalonia, Ithaka and Zakynthos is commonly assumed to have started in or around 1357, even though there is no direct evidence on this date. The argument for this year is based on the fact that two Venetian documents of May 1357 mentioned a "Count of Kefalonia" as secretly negotiating with the anti-Venetian party on Leukas. At the time, this title was claimed by one other person, Despot Niceforo II Orsini. However, his family lived in Epiros after Niceforo's father had been deprived of the County during the Angevin offensive of 1324/5. This ineffectiveness of the Orsini power gave the ground to Anthony T. Luttrell to reject that the person in the reference of the Venetian documents was Niceforo. A certainly clearer reference to Leonardo being the referred Count of Kefalonia comes from a document of January 1361 issued by Niccolò Boiano about the estates of Maria Bourbon in the Peloponnese. In this report, the Count of Kefalonia was said to have

been closely connected to Niccolo Acciaiuoli, obviously an allusion to Leonardo's attachment to the Grand Seneschal through his marriage with Magdalena Buondemonti. However, this chronology could be challenged once again by a letter of Prince/Emperor Robert of Taranto dated December 22, 1346. In this letter, Leonardo was mentioned as *Barone di Tocco e Maestro Ciambellano*, and, most importantly, as *Conte di Cefalonia* which suggests that the Ionian islands might have come to Leonardo even earlier than is commonly assumed. Unfortunately, the original of Robert's letter is nowadays a *deperditum* and we know about its content only from the secondary literature which mentions one of its later copies, so the entire reference cannot be taken with certainty.²⁰⁵

The offspring of Leonardo I Tocco:

Petronella, probably born around 1360 (see above ***Marriage of Leonardo I with Magdalena Buondelmonti***), seems to have been his eldest child with Magdalena Buondelmonti. She must have died before September 27, 1410 when a Venetian document mentions her as already dead ("olim").²⁰⁶

Carlo I is commonly considered to have been the eldest son of the Tocco-Buondelmonti couple. Although some sources dated his birth to 1375 or even to the early 1380s, it is most likely that Carlo was born around the end of May 1374, when in a letter (dated May 28) his father Leonardo hinted that he was expecting to receive "the news" from his wife. This presumption seems confirmed by the documents of the Genoese citizenship which indicate that Carlo's official maturity must have started between December 2, 1389 and October 7, 1390.²⁰⁷

Leonardo and Magdalena had another son, Leonardo II, whom the sources designated as younger than Carlo. Judging from the fact that he bore his father's name, as well as from the presumed chronology of Leonardo's death (c. 1375), he seems to have been born after his father died.²⁰⁸ Leonardo II was still alive on September 21, 1416, while the Tocco Chronicle suggests his death had taken place before Carlo I attacked Clarentza (1421).²⁰⁹ A codex of the Anafonetria church on Zakynthos might shed more light on the identity of Leonardo's wife (a Lappa) while mentioning the couple as the founders of the church in 1401. The inscription, however, no longer exists, so this detail cannot be properly verified; besides, the report on it by Ntinios Konomos dates from the mid-twentieth

century, erroneously linking the inscription with Leonardo III, and dating it, again wrongly, to 1501.²¹⁰

Among other children of the couple, the sources mention Gioanna and Susanna, both in young age during the first years of their mother's regency.²¹¹

The death of Leonardo I:

According to the chronology of the Tocco Chronicle, Leonardo must have died during the mid-1370s.²¹² A direct document about his death does not exist, so it is generally dated to a more indefinite period between 1373 and 1382. Remondini put it to 1364, Tsitseles and Hiotes into 1377, while the year 1375 was taken by Buchon. Other scholars, like Miller, Longnon and Topping preferred to quote a more vague date, or rather a period between 1375 and 1379, with Hopf proposing 1381.

Although fragmentary and not chronologically consistent, the sources unanimously claim that Leonardo's death was sudden and unexpected. Interestingly, it roughly coincides with two waves of plague ("λοιμὸς θανατηφόρος") which, according to Ducas Nepos, devastated Epiros in 1374 and 1375, and which were mentioned in a letter by Giovanni Biliotti to Donato di Iacoppo Acciaiuoli (June 10, 1391). However, no direct documentary evidence openly supports any conclusion that the infectious disease was indeed the cause of Leonardo's death.²¹³

The end of the regency of Magdalene Tocco:

If Magdalena indeed followed the Angevin regency practice as was hinted in King Charles' document of March 1382, she must have resigned from this duty immediately after her eldest son celebrated his maturity, some time between December 2, 1389 and October 7, 1390. The Tocco chronicle, mentioning Carlo as making decisions on his own before his maturity, suggests, on the other hand, that Magdalena's power might have been reduced even before its official end. A more certain answer to this question could, perhaps, come out from the address of the Tocco-Genoese pact of 1389. In it, Magdalena was the first *addressata*, which would suggest that she actively exercised her regency when the pact was concluded on December 2, 1389. The omission of Magdalena's name in the ratification document of October 7, 1390, shows, however, that by autumn of this year her son had already become the domain's sole ruler.²¹⁴

Chronology of the marriage between Carlo I and Francesca Acciauli:

Some documents, dated 1388, hint the preparation for Francesca's marriage, which led Karl Hopf, William Miller, Kenneth Setton and Antoine Bon assume that the marriage between Carlo and Francesca must have been concluded as early as this year.²¹⁵ The correspondence of the Acciauli archive dated 1388–1389 shows, however, that these preparations pertained to Francesca's marriage planned with someone else (the son of Angelo Acciauli, the Seneschal of Sicily at the time), but this alliance was never accomplished.²¹⁶

Marriages of Petronella Tocco:

Petronella's marriage with Niccolò delle Carceri was concluded in 1372 and ended after Niccolò's death, some time before July 22, 1384. She remained attached to Venice also through her second marriage to the son of the most influential Venetian of the time, Doge Marino Venier, some time around 1391. In this period Petronella was recorded several times as working in the interests of her brother Carlo. By September 27, 1410, Petronella was dead.²¹⁷

Francesca Acciauli:

The wife of Carlo I Tocco. Francesca, the younger daughter of Nerio Acciauli, is today commonly considered as Carlo's only wife. Based upon fragmentary records from the family archive, as well as other sources, the early-modern scholars, however, suggested that Carlo must have been married at least twice, variously interpreting his wives' identities. Thus Francesca was mixed with a Catherina, or reportedly replaced one other anonymous lady; or, she was confused with Remondina of Ventimiglia who was the wife of Carlo II (an early genealogist obviously confused Carlo I with Carlo II) and an *Angelica*, the daughter of King of Serbia "Savisciano" (possibly a reference to Angelina, the sister of Arianiti Comneno), or, the sister of "Balša" (possibly, a reference to an Angelica, the daughter of Thoma Preljubović). A more recent proposition by Del Vasto regards Francesca as Carlo's first wife, suggesting that his second conjugal relationship was the one with a daughter of Ghino Spata from which Carlo had a daughter named Marguerite.²¹⁸

Although there has been a hint that Francesca was married to Carlo in 1388, modern scholarship has shown that the marriage was concluded a few years later, probably between 1390 (the year of Carlo's maturity) and 1394 (when their marriage was openly mentioned as already enacted).²¹⁹

Today, it is a commonly known fact that Carlo's marriage with Francesca did not yield any children, and that Carlo had illegitimate offspring. Hopf's Genealogy and the Tocco Chronicle hint he had five sons and two daughters; documentary evidence of the time mentions four of his sons: Ercole, Memnone, Torno and Orlando.²²⁰

Children of Leonardo II:

Leonardo's son Carlo II inherited his uncle and governed the family domain until his death in 1448. One of Leonardo's daughters (Creusa?) was married to the son of Centurione II Zaccaria, thus strengthening the alliance Carlo made with his rival at the beginning of the 1420s. In July 1428, his other daughter, Magdalena (Theodora), was married to Constantine Dragases, the son of Despot Theodore II Palaiologos who later became Byzantine Emperor. All children of Leonardo II Tocco enjoyed an exceptional favor and attention of Carlo I and Francesca.²²¹

Death of Carlo I:

Modern historians today commonly consider July 4, 1429 as an approximate date of Carlo's death. Analyzing the original manuscripts of the Tocco chronicle, Schirò discovered that on June 4, 1429 Carlo I Tocco made his last will, which suggests that this date should be regarded as a *terminus ante quem non* for his death. As a more certain *terminus post quem non* for Carlo's death one could also take the Ottoman conquest of Ioannina in October 1430, while some source fragments suggest that Carlo died on July 30, 1430. All sources agree that Carlo died in Ioannina. Some time before the fall of the town to the Ottomans in October 1430, his body seems to have been transferred to the family chapel on Zakynthos, later destroyed in the earthquake (1953).

The causes of Carlo's death are unknown. His letter to Francisco Loredano (May 5, 1428), attests that in this period Carlo suffered an "infirmità [...] stata longa e pericolosa intanto che per do a tre volte siamo stati a pericolo." Although the weakness indicated here was obviously caused by

some chronical condition, it is not certain whether it was the actual cause of Carlo's death. The Tocco chronicle hints that around his conquest of Ioannina Carlo suffered from a kidney problem, but it is not clear whether this particular condition might have contributed to his death.²²²

Burial place of Magdalena II (Theodora):

Carlo's fraternal niece Magdalena (Theodora), whose marriage to Constantine Palaiologos (who later became the last Byzantine Emperor) guaranteed the Tocco peace with the Byzantines in 1428, died shortly after her wedding ceremony (1429). Sphrantzes claims Magdalena died in "Stameron" (Sant-Omere in the western Peloponnese). She was said to have been buried first in one of the churches in Clarentza, and some time later her body was transferred to the monastery of Zoodotos in Mistra. Paul Underwood suggests that before the fall of Constantinople in 1453, her body must have been transferred to the church of Hora in Constantinople ("grave G"). Magdalena was renowned for her extraordinary education, as well as for her intellectual entourage at the Byzantine court, when she was surrounded by (later Cardinal) Bessarion and John Eugenikos.²²³

Prominent Italians in the Tocco service under Carlo I:

Name	Source
<i>Jacommo Scrofa</i> and <i>Nicolafranco</i> (also as "κύριον Νικόλαον Φράγγον").	<i>CroToc</i> , 6, 12, 1757–61, 350; 14, 13, 3765, 498; the letter of Francesca Tocco to Nerio Acciaiuoli (September 27, 1391, in St. Maure), in Buchon, <i>Nouvelles recherches</i> , vol. 2: 1, 252 ("κύριον Νικόλαον Φράγγον"). Cf. MM 5, no. 4 (April 15, 1461 "of the ninth indiction"), 69–70.
Matteo ("di Landulpho di Napoli") mentioned as <i>familiaris</i> , captain and emissary of Carlo Tocco.	<i>CroToc</i> , 4, 1, 1161–73, 306, and 5, 3, 1325–40, 320; 14, 17, 3826–7, 502; <i>CroToc</i> , 14, 10, 3671–3703, pp. 492–4; DA, <i>Div. Cancell.</i> , 43, fols. 31r–v (August 17, 1424), and <i>Cons. Min.</i> , 3, fol. 164r.
<i>Jacobus de Areiano</i> ; <i>Egidius Leonessa</i> (also, <i>Lagonessa</i>); ²²⁴ <i>Dominus Johannes de Vicinanza of Brescia</i> .	For Areiano, Zečević, "The Italian Kin," 242–4; For Leonessa, Carlo's donation on August 30, 1425, Patetta, "Argiobulla di Tommaso Paleologo," 264–7. For Johannes de Vicinanza, DA, <i>Div. Cancell.</i> 40, fol. 197r (July 22, 1415), as a <i>regestum</i> in Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no. 614, 264.

<i>Galasso</i> (also, <i>Galassus</i> ; of Puglia?).	<i>CroToc</i> , 1, 13, 157–58, 232; <i>ibid.</i> , vs. 160–61; 3, 23, 1055–60, 296; 3, 24, 1072–73, 296. Schirò, “Contributo,” 244.
<i>Zan Bocharin</i> and a <i>Pietro di Padoa</i> .	Johannes de Braueria, ASVen, <i>Lettere di Rettori</i> , no. 74, fol. 3r/Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 104.
familiaris Pipo; fr. Lorenzo and Monte (Acciauoli?), commanders of Carlo's infantry regiment, mentioned as <i>zentilihomeni</i> ; Roberto and Zudexe Nicola.	The testimony of Bertolinus Culelo, ASVen, <i>Lettere di Rettori</i> , no. 74, fol. 6r/Chrysostomides, “Corinth,” 108.
<i>Simo Janue</i> , one of the vicars on St. Maure.	Martoni, “Pélégrinage,” book 11, p. 662.
<i>dona Scarlata di Mesina</i> (“che stà in Cefalonia”).	The last will of Petronella Tocco, ASVen, <i>Cancellaria Inferiore: Miscellanea, Notai diversi, busta 22</i> , no. 852 (1391–1394), fols. 1r–1v.
<i>Cola Typaldos</i> .	Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 1, 94.
<i>Jacopo della Rossa</i> ; <i>Domenico Gellio</i> ; <i>Goffredo Nulli</i> .	Pignatore, <i>Memorie</i> , 77.
<i>Lippus Zuzarelli</i> of Ancona.	DA, <i>Div. Cancel.</i> , 30, 361r (also mentioned as a regestum Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no. 444, 236–7.
<i>Jacomo Russo</i> (“lo nostro fedelissimo gentilhom”).	Carlo's letter to Francesco Lauredano (May 5, 1428 in Arta). Mertzijs, “Trois lettres inédits,” 353.
<i>Ciccarello Giovine di Napoli</i> (“vir nobilis Ceccarellus juvenis de Neapoli”), mentioned as Carlo's procurator in Venice and vicar of St. Maure and the Tocco <i>consiliarius</i> . <i>Giovannotto di Tocco</i> (“di Napoli, figlio del fù Cicco di Tocco”).	“Pélégrinage,” book 11, p. 662 (April 1395); <i>Commemoriali</i> , t. 3, lib. 9, 16, (January 2, 1396) p. 236; AAV 2: 7, no. 761bis (August 16, 1399), 6–7 and <i>ibid.</i> , no. 761ter (of the same date), 7–8. ASN, ATM, <i>Atti notarili, busta 4</i> , perg. 158 (July 19, 1379 in Naples).
<i>Galassius Russus et Jacomus Morello</i> .	ASN, ATM, <i>Privilegi, busta 1</i> , perg. no. 57 (May 1, 1463, Ragusa); an uncertified copy in ASN, ATM, <i>Scritture diverse, busta 41</i> , fols. 108r–113v; Zečević, “Bračni ugovor Leonarda III Toko i Milice Branković,” 209–37.
Families mentioned in the sixteenth century as having colonized Kefalonia during the Tocco rule: Floria, Delladetsima, di Focho, Avastago, of Antonio di Bressa, Typaldos; Volterra (Βολτέρρα), Loberdos, Karouso (Καρούσου), Monferat (Μομφεράτου), Lounzi (Λούζη).	Fokas-Kosmetatos, Το κάστρο, 52, and <i>ibid.</i> , n. 49, quoting an inscription in St. George of Kefalonia.

Death of Carlo II:

Scholarly opinions about the date of Carlo's death differ, dating it to a wide period between 1448 and 1452. An indication that Carlo II had already been dead by the time his capital Arta fell to the Ottomans can be found in a Venetian document dated to March 26, 1449, in which a tutor of Carlo's children was mentioned. Some sources hint the possibility that Carlo might have died of a plague that broke in Epiros around that time.²²⁵

Prominent Italians in the Tocco service under Carlo II:

Name	Source
<i>Georgios Ragnarolo Pisauriensis</i> , secretary of Carlo II.	Letter of Cyriacus of Ancona, in Buchon, <i>Nouvelles recherches</i> , vol. 2, 321; 348–9.
<i>Bernardus Marcello</i> ("viro nobili et amicissimo nostro"), the courier of Carlo II.	An undated letter of Cyriacus of Ancona (after October 1436) in Buchon, <i>Nouvelles recherches</i> , vol. 2, 349–50.
<i>Niccolò Machiavelli</i> and <i>Angelo di Jacopo di Acciaiuoli</i> (1433).	Miller, <i>The Latins</i> , 400; Kenneth Setton, "The Emperor John Slept Here" in <i>Id.</i> , <i>Europe and the Levant in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance</i> (London: Variorum, 1974), 226, n. 1.
<i>Antonellus Catellanus</i> ("familiaris magnifici domini Charoli despoti"); <i>Benedictus Marchini</i> ; <i>Nicola de Ansalona</i> ; <i>Johannes Exparteri</i> ; <i>ser Nicolaus Satres</i> (mentioned as "Catalan").	DA, <i>Div. Not.</i> , 28, fol. 24r (for Ansalona); <i>Cons. Rog.</i> , 10, fols. 204r and 205v (for Exparteri). Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no. 1087 (May 10, 1445), 345 recorded a "Ser Benedictus Machrini de Catane" as a resident of Arta. DA, <i>Div. Cancell.</i> 53, fols. 213v–214, Jorga, <i>Notes</i> , 356, and Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no. 940, 320; <i>Div. Not.</i> 20, fol. 158r (January 30, 1436).
<i>Jacobus Schrofte Rubeus</i> , Captain of Arta.	DA, <i>Cons. Min.</i> , 9, fol. 19v.
<i>Jacobus Rossus</i> , gentilome of the Despot of Arta.	Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> , vol. 3, no. 2716 (May 20, 1446), 131; Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> , vol. 3, no. 2730 (September 14, 1446), 134, and AAV, 3: 19, no. 5266, 218–220; Thiriet, <i>Régestes</i> , vol. 3, no. 2754 (August 7, 1447), 140; AAV 3: 19, no. 5203 (March 22, 1446), 161, and AAV 3: 19, 5323 (July 7, 1447), 272–3.

Leonardo III and other children of Carlo II Tocco:

Leonardo III was the eldest son of Carlo II and Remondina (Raymunda) Ventimiglia. According to the sources, the couple had two younger sons, Giovanni (born in March 1444) and Marc-Antonio. In 1449, Leonardo was still of minor age, while the confirmation act of 1452 mentions him as of mature age, which means that he must have been born some time between 1436 and 1439. Earlier historiography suggests that he spent his youth at the Ottoman court as a hostage; the same is suggested also for some other Tocco (illegitimate children of Carlo I, Carlo II, one of his brothers), but none of these hints can be verified in the existing documentary sources. Leonardo III Tocco died in Rome during the pontificate of Alexander VI (1492–1503), some time after 1494 and before August 30, 1504.²²⁶

(Illegitimate?) Son of Leonardo III Tocco:

As the Venetians allege, an illegitimate son of Leonardo III was the member of the pontifical *familia*, to later flee to Kefalonia through Venice and Corfu. Shortly upon his arrival to the island, he was captured and killed by the Ottomans. According to Volterra's diary, in 1480 he was 22 years old. If this allegation is true, he must have indeed been born illegitimately – in 1458, five years before his father's first legitimate marriage with Milica Branković (May 1, 1463 in Dubrovnik).²²⁷

Death and burial place of Helen Palaiologina (mother-in-law of Leonrado III):

According to some historians, Helen was buried in a church located within the fortress of St. Maura. Other historians suggest she was buried in the monastery of Ag. Hodegetria, which she had founded on the island of Leukas (c. 2 km to the East from the present-day town). Scholars also disagree about the date of her death, some proposing it to have taken place in 1464, some – probably more punctually – to a period before 1474.²²⁸

Prominent Italians in the Tocco service under Leonardo III:

Name	Source
[Baron] <i>Collela Tipaldo</i> ; [Baron] <i>Fassi Avastago</i> ; [Baron] <i>Antonio di Bressa</i> .	Sathas, <i>Documents</i> , vol. 5, 153–6 (May 19, 1502).
<i>Gugliamo de Calavria</i> ; <i>Giacomo de Parges</i> ; <i>Nicolao Cocchini</i> .	Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 1, 108 (November 24, 1467).
<i>Ambrosius Monauli</i> .	MM, 3, no. 16 (April 23, 1478), 260.
Ντζουάννη Ἀντώνιον; μισέρ Φραγγέσκον Δαριάνο; Ἰωάννη δὲ Τράνι; <i>Aloisius</i> (also, <i>Aloysio</i>) <i>Romano</i> , Tocco notary.	MM 5, no. 5 (September 30, 1469), 70–1; MM, 5, no. 6 (May 15, 1471), 71–2; MM, 5, no. 7 (August 8, 1475), 72.
Νζοανὲλ δὲ Βηντεμέλια, Roman Catholic episcop; Ντζουάν Ἀντώνιος, Tocco notary.	MM, 5, no. 6 (May 15, 1471), 71–2.
<i>Paulus Mascambruni de Benevento</i> ("nobili et egregii uiri et procuratoris nostri d.ni").	ASN, ATM, <i>Titoli, onorificenze e nomine</i> , busta 13, fasc. 23, first document (March 25, 1478 in St. Maure; certified copy, January 19, 1693), fols. 1–2.
<i>Galassos Russos Miles</i> ; <i>Janucius Morellus</i> <i>Leonardus de Trino</i> ("publicus Imperiali autoritate notarius et Iudex ordinarius").	ASN, ATM, <i>Privilegi</i> , busta 1, perg. no. 57 (May 1, 1463, Ragusa).
NN <i>D'Areiano</i> , NN <i>de Trani</i> , NN <i>D'Ancona</i> , NN <i>St. Aloe</i> .	MM, 5, no. 4 (April 15, 1461 [1446]).
NN <i>de Leone</i> .	DA, <i>Div. Not.</i> 20, fols. 273v–274r (July 17, 1436), as a <i>regestum</i> in Krekić, <i>Raguse</i> , no. 873, 309.
Leonardo's familiares: <i>Gugliamo de Calavria</i> ; Giovanni Condoianni ("nobili nostri vicario [...] maestro razonale"); <i>Giacomo de Parges</i> ; <i>Nicolao Cocchini</i> ("asistenito compratori datii of Kefalonia").	Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 1, 108 (November 24, 1467 in St. Maure).
Ἀμβρουῆζε Μοναύλη ("μαστρομασάριος" of the court and vicar on Zakynthos).	MM, 3, no. 16 (April 23, 1478), 260; MM, 5, no. 9 (January 22, 1478), 73.

Francesca Marzano, the second wife of Leonardo III Tocco:

In general, the identity of Leonardo's wife and her ties to the Aragon rulers are confusing and unclear. An uncertified copy of the pontifical dispensation issued to approve this marriage on February 26, 1477, identifies her as a Francesca Marzano. To Remondini and Spandugino, she was the daughter of a Prince of Rosano, a relative of King Ferrante. For Reccho, Francesca's parents were "GioFrancesco Marino Marzano, Principe di Rossano duca di Sessa, et di Squillace, conte di Mont'altro et Grand Ammirante del regno" and Eleanor of Aragon, the natural daughter of King Alfonso V. Del Vasto suggests that Francesca was, in fact, Isabella, King Ferrante's daughter, while Blantès considered her to have been Beatrix of Aragon, King Alfonso's relative. Differently, some hints of the local tradition (Chronaca di Parthenope) lead Samantha Kelly consider this person was a Marguerite, the daughter of Antonio Marzano and a Cobella, who was related to King Charles III of Durazzo; it seems that this tradition was the source for some other scholarly assumptions (L. Thallóczy, V. Atanasovski) who see Marguerite as the grand-daughter of King Alfonso V by his illegitimate daughter Eleanore.

Francesca's marriage with Leonardo was arranged in Naples, by the Tocco emissary *Bernardo Collel* and six witnesses. Just like with his first marriage, Leonardo was not present at the ceremony; it is known that it followed the local Neapolitan and Roman Catholic practices. The confirmation of this marriage was recorded on June 8, 1477 (originally in *Registrum Ferd. In matrim. Fol. 62*). A document of the Aragon *Cancellaria Matrimoniorum* fol. 64, recorded that the marriage was officially approved by a pontifical dispensation.²²⁹

¹⁹⁹ ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 6; cf. ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 8, no. 10 for September 1335. The inscription is quoted by Ricca, *La nobiltà*, vol. 3, 272.

²⁰⁰ ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 6 (January 12, 1345), and ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fols. 43r–44r/47–48 (November 1, 1343) (certified copy, June 1, 1695); Cf. ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 6, 1 and *ibid.*, 8, 2 (Pietro, Ludovico and Leonardo); *ibid.*, 1, 3, fol. 5r and *Hiotes*, *Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα*, vol. 2, table K' (Pietro, Leonardo, Ludovico, Nicolo), ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 8, 11 (Pietro, Ludovico, Leonardo, Nicolo), and *ibid.*, 8, 10 (Leonardo, Nicolo, Lizolo, Pietro). ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 4, perg. no. 156, and ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 8, 3; ASN, ATM, *Fascicoli diversorum*, busta 52, 28/7: 20–6. According

to the inscription in the Tocco family chapel of the Neapolitan Duomo, Nicolo seems to have died on April 1347, while Lodovico's death can be dated to December 11, 1360. A document in ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, perg. no. 156 (1377), refers to Isabella San-Sabrano as Pietro's second wife; his first wife, as from ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 4, perg. no. 156 (August 25, 1377, Naples), is identified as "defunta Giacoma d'Aversana." The kinsmen of Pietro's second wife were the family of the French origin settled in Benevento, who developed influential connections in Italy and Latin Greece.

²⁰¹ Guillemo's marriage with Giovanna Torella is hinted by a record in ASN, ATM, *Atti notarili*, busta 4, perg. no. 152 (1370 in Naples), where his son Pietro listed both names in his request for memorial prayers.

²⁰² The grant of April 7, 1304 in Clarentza, as partly reproduced in Buchon, *Recherches*, 1, 376–377: "Nous Jehan, compte palatin, sire de Chephalonie ed de Jachint, [...] ordenames que la devant dite nommée comtesses, nostre chiere compaigne [dame madame Marie, comtesse, nostre comtesse, nostre compaigne et leal espose], doit estre doée de la moitié de tout nostre heritage [...]." Topping, "Estates of Niccolò Acciaiuoli," 544–59. Leonard, *La Reigne*, 1, 32–3, and Gustavo Brigante Colonna Angelini, *Gli Orsini* (Milano: Ceschina, 1955), 81–9; 107; 159–69.

²⁰³ Cf. Buchon, "Tocco genealogical table," in *id.*, *Recherches*, 8: B, and Hopf, *GG*, 2, 34; ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 6, 2, fol. 78r; Hiotes, *Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα*, vol. 2, 179. The letter of Lappa Acciaiuoli to Filipo Bardi, in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, 2: 1, 207, and Carteggio Acciaiuoli, no. 151; Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, 92, n. 1; however, if the date of this letter is correct (1361), it would challenge the chronology of Leonardo's title of Duke that is nowadays usually dated to 1362 (in this letter he was mentioned already as Duke). Cf. an allusion of a document edited by Léonard, *Histoire de Jeanne I*, 3, no. 74, 614, could be an indication that the marriage between Leonardo and Magdalena was organized on September 8, 1357.

²⁰⁴ For Ranieri, see G. de Blasiis, "La dimora di Giovannii Boccaccio," 76, n. 1. For the family's palace in Florence, see Luigi Caliterna, *Il restauro del Palazzo Buondelmonti in Piazza S. Trinità a Firenze* (Firenze, 1964). For Manente in Greece, see Chrysostomides, *MonPel*, 30 and 31, n. 1. On Andreas, see ASF, *Missive*, Reg. 8, f. 66v; ASF, *Capitoli*, Reg. 16, 136v–137r. Luttrell, "Interessi fiorentini," 323–4, for the affairs of Magdalena's brother Esau in Epiros. On Bartholomeo, see de Blasiis, "La dimora di Giovanni Boccaccio a Napoli," 84, n.1.

²⁰⁵ The idea about Leonardo's appearance on the Ionian islands in or around 1357 has been accepted by: Morosini, *Corsi di penna*, 94; Remondini, *Estratto*, 139; DuCange, *Historia Byzantina*, vol. 2, 264; Hopf, *GG*, vol. 2, 35; Blantes, 'Η Λευκάς, 46; Hopf, 'Ιστορική Πραγματεία, 303; Miller, "The Ionian Islands under Venetian Rule," in *id.*, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, reprint from the first edition, Cambridge: CUP, 1921), 202; Thiriet, "Interventions," 383. Cf. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, 1, 99; *ibid.*, 305–306; Luttrell, "Vonitza," 137 (before May 1357). The Venetian references to a 'Count of Kefalonia' come from: ASV, Misti, 27, fol. 110r (May 15, 1357) and Commemoriali, t. 2, lib. 5, no. 235 (May 23, 1357), p. 263; also a Venetian report of August 24, 1359, in Commemoriali, t. 2, lib. 6, no. 145, p. 303. For the rejection of Niceforo as a possible count, see Luttrell, "Vonitza," 137, and *ibid.*, n. 2. For Boiano's report of 1361, see Longon–Topping, *Documents*, no. 8, p. 145 and n. 8. According to Allocati, *Archivio*, 167, Prince/Emperor

Robert's letter of 1346 was kept as a copy in the family's archive in the section *Fascicoli diversorum*, busta 52, 28/7: 1. During my research in this archive 2001–2002, the copy was a *deperditum*.

²⁰⁶ For her marriage, see Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, 515 (October 28, 1372), 129. Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 32, 34–6 and AAV 2: 6, no. 1600, 86–9.

²⁰⁷ Leonardo's letter in Anthony T. Luttrell, "Aldobrando Baroncelli in Greece 1378–1383," 276, and *MonPel.*, no. 14, 30–1. For the chronology, see Gasparis, "Il patto di Carlo I Tocco," 249–57; Zečević, "The Genoese Citizenship of Carlo I Tocco," 368–70.

²⁰⁸ *CroToc*, 1, 1, 4–7, 220.

²⁰⁹ For the quoted date, see Krekić, *Raguse*, no. 626, 266 (September 21, 1416). For some views on the chronology of his death, see Hopf, *Chroniques*, 530 (after 1414); Schirò, "Prolegomen 1," 84, and Nicol, *The Despotate*, 190 (not before 1418 but not after 1419).

²¹⁰ Konomos, Εκκλησίες και μοναστήρια στη Ζάκυνθο, 19.

²¹¹ An order of Charles III of Naples issued to his iudex in Naples, Leonardo Viola, on March 24, 1382 ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 48, fols. 10r–11r (13v–14r) (as from a copy certified June 8, 1695); Ricca, *La nobiltà*, vol. 3, p. 275.

²¹² *CroToc*, 1, 1, 4–7, 220. Magnò, *Estratti*, 183; Remondini, *Estratto*, 341, dating this to 136; Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 2, 35, n. 3, and Hiotes, Ιστορικά απομνημονεύματα, vol. 2, 183, into 1377. The year 1375 was taken by Buchon, "Tocco genealogical table," in *id.*, *Recherches*, 8: B, and Topping, "Le régime agraire dans le Péloponnèse latin au XIV^e siècle," *Hellénisme contemporain* 2 (n.s. 10) (1956): 291. Other historians, like Miller, *The Latins*, 332, n. 2, and Longnon–Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle* (Paris–The Hague: 1969), 145, n. 8, preferred to quote a more vague date, or rather a period between 1375 and 1379. The latest date, in 1381, was proposed by Hopf, *GG*, vol. 2, 36, and *id.*, *Chroniques*, 183 and 530. Also, see Anthony T. Luttrell, "Interessi fiorentini nell'economia e nella politica dei Cavalieri Ospedalieri di Rodi nel Trecento," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa: Lettere, Storia e Filosofia*, 2 Series, no. 27 (1959): 323, n. 1; Eszer, *Das abenteuerliche Leben des Johannes Laskaris Kalopheros*, 71, n. 294, and Luttrell, "Vonitza," 141; Asonites, Το Νότιο, 133. Although standing on a similar position as this group, Schirò, "Prolegomen 1," 26, and *ibid.*, n. 2, was more precise, dating Leonardo's death into a period between March 20, 1375 and August 25, 1377.

²¹³ Michael Ducas Nepos, *De Rebus Epiri*, fr. 2, p. 221, lns. 10–222, 5;. Rao, *Il carteggio Acciauli*, no. 753, 282.

²¹⁴ ASN, ATM, *Titoli, onorificenze e nomine*, busta 13, fol. 133v (October 7, 1390). Cf. *CroToc*, 1, 9, 115–9, 228; *ibid.*, 1, 10, 120–33, 228–30; *ibid.*, 1, 11, 134–48, 230; MM 3, 413 (August, 6897=1389), 139–40; Rao, *Il carteggio Acciauli*, no. 598, 235 (April 27, 1390), letter by Biliotto di Sandro Biliotti to Donato Acciauli di Jacopo mentions Carlo alone ("Comunque ha preso provvedimenti verso i fanti del Conte Carlo per verificare bene [...]"). Carlo was referred to as the domain's sole ruler by the Venetians for the first time on November 17, 1390, as from Thiriet, *Régestes*, vol. 1, no. 787 (April 11, 1391), 189. A more certain documentary attestation that Magdalena was alive in 1398 can be found in ASN, ATM, *Scritture*

diverse, busta 48, fols. 27 r–v (31r–v) (March 11, 1401 ad ann. 1398) (certified copy, June 1, 1695). See Chrysostomides, “Italian Women,” 127, n. 60.

²¹⁵ Hopf, *GG*, 2, 49; *Id.*, *Chroniques*, 476; 536. Cf. Kenneth Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1948), 170–1, 194, 197; Bon, *La Morée*, 269, and plate no. 25; Chrysostomides, “Italian Women,” 122. Cf. William Miller, “Ithake under the Franks,” in *id.*, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, 263.

²¹⁶ Gregorovius, “Briefe,” 305. Chrysostomides, “Italian Women,” 122, n. 30, and *eadem*, *MonPel.*, no. 18, 41, n. 13, referring to a letter written by Francesca’s mother Agnese to Donato Acciaiuoli (1389), reveal that Francesca was not married in this period.

²¹⁷ Thiriet, *Les Délérations*, vol. 2, no. 861 (July 22, 1384), 59; Jacoby, *La féodalité*, document no. 2 (June 22, 1385), 316; Thiriet, *Les Délérations*, vol. 2, no. 861 (July 22, 1384), 59; ASVen, *Cancellaria Inferiore: Miscellanea Notai Diversi*, B. 22, n. 852; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 2, no. 281 (February 27, 1401), 67–8; AAV 2: 5, no. 1419 (March 26, 1409), 215–30; Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 32, 34–6 and AAV 2: 6, no. 1600, 86–9.

²¹⁸ ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, fol. 4v; *ibid.*, 11, 1, 3, fol. 5v; Gittio, *Lo scetro*, 90; Remondini, *Estratto*, 341 (ad an. 1404). ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 6, 2, fol. 60r, and *ibid.*, 11, 6, fol. 126r/22v, suggests that Carlo’s second wife was an anonymous daughter of Ghino Spata. Buchon, “Tocco genealogical table,” in *id.*, *Recherches*, 8: B (adding an additional confusion about the identity of Carlo as well). For an idea about Carlo’s marriage with a Catherine de Baux, see ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 6, 2, fol. 78r. For his Serbian connection see ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 12, fols. 18r–v; *Hiotes*, *Ιστορικά ἀπομνημονεύματα*, vol. 2, 183. Del Vasto, *Baroni nel tempo*, 17. This presumption seems to have been based upon the accounts of the early-modern historians Spandugnano, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani* and Mazzella, *Descrittione*, 646.

²¹⁹ Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, no. 530, 215, letter by Iacopo da Prato to “Donato Acciaiuoli di Jacopo cavaliere in Firenze” (Patrasso, May 9, 1388); *ibid.*, no. 532, 216 (1388), letter by “Angelo Acciaiuoli di Nicola Gran siniscalco del Regno di Sicilia to Donato Acciaiuoli Figlio di Jacopo” (October 1, 1389, in castle Melfi). For a source reference to Carlo and Francesca as already married, see *MonPel.*, no. 120 ([1393] March 25), 231. *Eadem*, “Italian Women,” 127, dated the conclusion of the marriage between Carlo and Francesca into a period shortly before March 25, 1393.

²²⁰ Hopf, *Chroniques*, 530. The Tocco Chronicle mentioned four sons and two daughters, *CroToc*, 7, 2, 1940–4, 360; 7, 3, 1945–8, 360; 7, 4, 1949–54, 360–2; *CroToc*, 7, 5, 1955, 1959, 362; *CroToc*, 6, 20, 1913–33, 360–2 (a daughter married to an Ottoman commander), and 3, 29, 1123–4, 300 (a daughter married to Carlo Spata).

²²¹ *CroToc*, 13, 8, 3471–92, 476–8; ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, 11, 6, 2, fol. 88r; The letter of Francesca Tocco to Nerio di Donato Acciaiuoli in Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches*, vol. 2: 1, no. 63 (28 of the second indiction, in Arta), 283, where she referred to Leonardo’s children as “nostri filii nostri cavissimi.” Buchon, “Tocco genealogical table,” in *id.*, *Recherches*, 8: B, and Hopf, *Chroniques*, 530; cf. *Hiotes*, *Ιστορικά ἀπομνημονεύματα*, vol. 2, 228; Bon, *La Morée*, genealogical table 25 (Tocchi).

²²² Schirò, "Prolegomen 2," 149. For other dates, see *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, chronicle 34: 4 (1430, July?), 266 (and commentary in *op. cit.* vol. 2, 441), Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 20, 6, lns. 25–6, 46, and Chalcocondyles, book 5, ed. Bonn, p. 236, and ed. Darkó, vol. 2, p. 15. July 4 was proposed by Hopf, *GG*, 2, 107 (with no indication of his source) and *id.*, *Chroniques*, 530, also accepted by Nicol, *The Despotate*, 192, n. 49. Miller, *The Latins*, 484, on his grave in the church that was destroyed in the earthquake of 1953. For his letter to Loredano, see Mertzios, "Trois lettres," 353. For the indications that Carlo had a kidney malfunction, see *CroToc*, 5, 15, 1532–4, 334, and *ibid.*, 1547–8, 334. The content of Carlo's last will remains unknown until today as the information Schirò found was only a brief reference by a notary who had recorded the will. Schirò suggested that the document should be searched in the family archive; during my research there, however, I found no such document.

²²³ Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 20, 9, 33, 46–4, 48. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, chronicle 34: 3 (July 1428), 262–5. Du Cange, *Historia Byzantina*, 246, dated her death to September 1429 and considered her burial place to have been in Clarenza. Paul Atkins Underwood, *The Kariye Djami* (New York: Bollingen foundation, 1975), vol. 3, 294–5, and figures 2; 4, pl. 549. On her burial place(s), see also Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, 32 and *ibid.*, n. 102. On her connections with Bessarion, see *PP*, 4, 94–5, and John Eugenikos, see *PP*, 1, 117–22. For a recent primary evidence on Theodora's death, see Ioannis Vassis, "Ein unediertes Gedicht anlässlich des Todes von Theodora, erster Gemahlin des Despoten Konstantinos (XI) Palaiologos," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 49 (1999): 181–9.

²²⁴ This person may have been Carlo's relative as his maternal aunt Marguerita was married into this family, see Rao, *Il carteggio Acciaiuoli*, no. 165, 97 (May 24, VIII indiction = 1370).

²²⁵ ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 8, 3 to 1452; Blantès, 'Η Λευκάς, 70 (1452); Romanos, Περὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἡπείρου, 174 (October, 1448); Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 2, 34 (1448 or 1452); Miller, *The Latins*, 415; Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, 97; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 208 and *ibid.*, n. 30 (September 30, 1448); Benaiteau, "Una famiglia," 29 (1449). Cf. Hopf, *GG*, 2, 120; Setton, *The Papacy*, vol. 2, 97–8; Nicol, *The Despotate*, 208, n. 30, as based on the notes by Cyriacus of Ancona who attended his requiem service. For a Venetian document attesting his death was known in Venice on October 19, 1448, see Jorga, *Notes*, 47, n. 5; Sanudo, *Vite delle dogi*, chapter 17a, p. 60, n. 2. AAV, 3: 20, no. 5469 (April 26, 1449); AAV 3: 20, no. 5473 (May 16, 1449), 117. As from Djurić, *Sumrak Vizantije*, 321, n. 161, Despot Theodore II died of a plague that broke out in June 1448, while Sphrantzes, *Memorii*, 28, 5, 72, 1–4, and *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, 196, confirms that one of its waves reached Epiros; it is not clear, though, whether Carlo II died during this epidemic. Cf. AAV, 3: 20, no. 5482 (July 8, 1449), 122–4, where Carlo II was openly referred to as already dead ("olim").

²²⁶ For the dates of birth and death of his younger brother Giovanni, see Vincenzo Forcella, *Iscrizioni delle chiese e d'altri edifici in Roma*, vol. 2 (London: Bencini, 1869), no. 39, p. 13, (1444–1511). For Leonardo's minor age, see Tsitseles, Κεφαλληνιακά σύμμικτα, vol. 2, 94–5 (September 11, 1449). For his maturity in 1452, see ASN, ATM, *Privilegi*, busta 1, perg. no. 54. Magnò, *Estratti*, 201, thinks he must have been born in 1442. For his youth among the Ottomans, see Spanduginio, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani*, 150; Remondini, *Estratto*, 344, Franz Babinger, "Beiträge zur Geschichte von Qarly-Eli vornemlich aus

osmanischen Quellen," in Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante, vol. 1 (München: Verlagsgesellschaft, 1962), 373–4, and PLP, 12, 4. Most recently, Grigor Boykov of the Sofia University has deliberated on the possible connection of Karlizâde Ali Bey with the Tocco (cf. his forthcoming paper in the 2013 issue of *Journal of Turkish Studies*). In a document from ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 42 (August 30, 1504), fols. 196r–203r, Leonardo was mentioned as dead.

²²⁷ Sathas, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 193, 279–80; Jacobus Gherardi da Volterra, *Il diario Romano*, p. 12, lns. 8–12 (ad ann. 1480), the last day of February.

²²⁸ Cf. Blantès, 'Η Λευκάς, 72, for her burial in the church within the castle of St. Maure (the church was seriously damaged in the earthquake of 1704). Sphrantzes, who knew Helen in person, mentioned her as dead on November 7, 1473, presuming that her death might have occurred some time earlier that year (September 7, 1473), Sphrantzes, 46, 3, p. 142. For various interpretations of the date of her death, see Remondini, *Estratto*, 344; Blantès, 'Η Λευκάς, 72; Spremić, *Despot Djuradj*, 551–2.

²²⁹ For the pontifical dispensation to Leonardo III conceding him to conclude his second marriage, see ASN, ATM, *Scritture diverse*, busta 43, 60r–60v (February 26, 1477, on Leukas), uncertified copy. Cf. ASN, ATM, *Scritture riguardanti la famiglia*, busta 11, 1, 3, 6v. For her kin and royal relations, see various interpretations as from Remondini, *Estratto*, 345; Spandugnano, *De la origine deli Imperatori Ottomani*, 166; Blantès, 'Η Λευκάς, 75; Ludwig von Thallóczy, *Studien zur Geschichte Bosniens und Serbiens im Mittelalter* (München–Leipzig: Duncker–Humboldt, 1914), 181; 245; Veljan Atanasovski, *Pad Hercegovine* (The Fall of Herzegovina), Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 1979, 96–97, nn. 90 and 92; Del Vasto, *Baroni nel tempo*, 22; *Istorija srpskog naroda* (History of the Serbian nation) (Belgrade: SKZ, 1982), vol. 2, 412; *The Cronaca di Parthenope*, ed. Kelly, 254–255.

Appendix II

Rulers of the 14th and 15th centuries

Byzantine Empire	Kingdom in Naples	Popes	Ottomans
Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282)	House of Anjou	Clement IV (1265–1268)	Orchan c. 1326–c. 1362
Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282–1328)	Charles I (1266–1285)	Gregory X (1271–1276) Innocent V (1276)	Murad I (c. 1362–1389)
Andronikos III Palaiologos (1328–1341)	Charles II (1285–1309)	John XXI (1276–1277)	Bayezid I Yildirim (1389–1402)
John V Palaiologos (1341–1376)	Robert (1309–1343)	Nicholas III (1277–1280)	Interregnum 1403–1413
John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–1354)	Joanna I (1343–1382)	Martin IV (1281–1285) Honorius IV (1285–1287)	Mehmed I Celebi (1413–1421)
Andronikos IV Palaiologos (1376–1379)	Louis I (1352–1362)	Nicholas IV (1288–1292)	Murad II (1421–1444)
John V Palaiologos (1379–1390)	House of Anjou –Durazzo	St. Celestine V (1294) Boniface VIII (1294–1303)	Mehmed II, Fatih (1444–1446)
John VII Palaiologos (1390)	Charles III (1382–1386)	Benedict XI (1303–1304)	Murad II (1446–1451)
	Ladislas (1386–1389; 1399–1414)	Clement V (1305–1314) John XXII (1316–1334)// Nicholas V, antipope (1328–1330) Benedict XII (1334–1342) Clement VI (1342–1352)	Mehmed II, Fatih (1451–1481)

John V Palaiologos (1390–1391)	House of Valois –Anjou	Innocent VI (1352–1362)	Bayezid II Wali (1481–1512)
Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425)	Louis II (1389–1399)	Urban V (1362–1370)	
John VII Palaiologos (1399–1402)	House of Anjou –Durazzo	Gregory XI (1370–1378)	
John VIII Palaiologos (1425–1448)	Joanna II (1414–1435)	Urban VI (1378–1389)// Clement VII, antipope (1378–1394)	
Constantine XI Palaiologos Dragases (1449–1453)	House of Valois –Anjou	Boniface IX (1389–1404)// antipopes Clement VII (1378–1394), Benedict XIII (1394–1417) and John XXIII (1400–1415)	
	René (1435–1442)		
	House of Trastámara	Innocent VII (1404–06)// antipopes Benedict XIII (1394–1417) and John XXIII (1400–1415)	
	Alfonso V (Alfonso I) (1442–1458)		
	Ferrante (Ferdinand I) (1458–1494)	Gregory XII (1406–15)// Benedict XIII (1394–1417), John XXIII (1400–1415), and Alexander V (1409–1410), antipopes	
	Alfonso II (1494–1495)	Nicholas V (1447–1455)	
	Ferdinand II (1495–1496)	Callistus III (1455–1458)	
		Pius II (1458–1464)	
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		Innocent VIII (1484–1492)	
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Nada Zečević
The Tocco of the Greek Realm: Nobility,
Power and Migration in Latin Greece

(14th – 15th centuries)

Summary

The Neapolitan noble family of the Tocco left a significant mark on the history of the medieval Latin East. For five generations during the 14th and 15th centuries (c. 1357–1479), this family ruled the Ionian islands, Epiros and parts of the Peloponnese. This monograph explores their rise to prominence and independent power the Tocco exercised upon their settlement in Greece. In this, the key focus of the study are the processes and devices that facilitated the family's migration from the Italian South and their success in an environment that was foreign to them, and generally notorious for its high volatility that largely derived from ethnic and religious varieties and sharp clashes between the 'superpowers' of the time (Angevins, Byzantium, Venetian and Genoese Republic, Ottomans, etc.).

Based upon extensive archival reference and comparison of various types of sources, this insight into the Tocco of Greece took into account all documented family members, their mutual relations and their relations with the world around them during the cycle of their migration between the Italian South and Greece. This micro-level focus of the survey revealed that the family had already become prominent by the second half of the 13th century. The basis of the Tocco nobility was their possession of land in the region of Benevento, as well as the service of some kinsmen to the Hohenstaufen administration operating in the south of the Apennine peninsula. The family's further rise to power took place with the establishment of the Angevin dynasty in the Realm (1266), when the most notable Tocco moved from Benevento to Naples. There, they entered the royal entourage, while their close connection to the Angevin princely branch of Taranto further prompted the movement of a junior branch towards Greece – first by serving the Angevin administration on Corfu

(Guillelmo Tocco on Corfu in the early 1330s), then by governing the Ionian islands (Leonardo, from the mid-1350s). The first Tocco rulers of the Heptanese kept strong connections with the key factors of the Guelph alliance of the 14th century, most importantly the Angevin throne in Naples, the papal Curia and the “ancient” Florentine aristocracy. Their independent power in the region is certainly linked with the decay of the Angevin interests in Greece, but is the direct outcome of the family’s territorial expansion to Epiros and Peloponnese, which took place under Leonardo’s son Carlo I (r. c. 1390 – d. c. 1429). After he officially became the ruler in Epiros, Carlo reinforced his power with Byzantine imperial trappings and local connections, including there more intense relations with the Republic of Venice and the Ottomans. This broke the family’s earlier alliance pattern, but also facilitated their new allies’ aspirations to the domain. Carlo’s territorial expansion did not produce effective administration in the enlarged domain, nor did it lead to the family’s true interaction with the local subjects, which is why, immediately after his death, the power of his heirs and successors declined, consequently resulting in the family’s loss of Epiros (1449), and, eventually, the fall of the Ionian islands to the Ottomans (1479).

Another factor that contributed to the Tocco decline in the Heptanese were internal relations between the kinsmen. Following the death of Carlo I, the principle of vertical succession through primogeniture from legitimate marriage which the family had observed before their migration was challenged by his illegitimate sons who also participated in the division of the family’s domain. Another important change regarded the family’s new marriage strategy. During the peak of the Tocco power (under Leonardo I and Carlo I), the family’s marital connections were incestuous, linking the kinsmen largely with the endogamous circle around the Florentine Acciaiuoli. The Tocco later opening towards the connections with other families, both regional and Italian, lead to an enlargement of their alliance base, but, at the same time, it caused a further fragmentation of the family’s domain and power legacy. Another modification that specifically affected the internal organization of the family since Carlo I was his privatization of feudal bonds in which the most privileged servitors of the Tocco domain were the kinsmen themselves (including their women who took active part in the governance of the domain or its specific parts), or their relatives and dependents from the Apennines, while their Greek subjects were largely left out of the domain’s privileged elite (despite the hints of the Tocco propaganda about the

Tocco 'cosmopolitanism'). Other factors that prompted the Tocco power in Greece were their leaders' personal skills, diplomatic tools and social connections, as well as their economic activities, namely the family's high interest in trade, especially apparent during Carlo I and his successor Carlo II.

Since the time of Leonardo I, the family saw their relocation from Naples to Greece as permanent. This, however, did not cause any major change in their identity – for five generations in Greece, the Tocco identified themselves as Italian, Latin and Catholic, even in situations when they officially used Byzantine imperial trappings. The first concrete hints of change in this respect are found in the sources only after the repatriation of Leonardo III Tocco to Naples (1479), but even then, these hints largely served to improve the family's re-integration into the local nobility and the newly established Aragon court in Naples. Importantly, this re-integration was not attempted by the family's stress of a place their ancestors had had in the Angevin colonization of the Byzantine East, but, rather, by the emphasis of the Greek resources and assets of power the Tocco family once enjoyed in Greece.

Nada Zečević

I Tocco del *reame greco*: la nobiltà, il potere
e le migrazioni nella Grecia Latina

(secoli XIV–XV)

Riassunto

La famiglia nobile di Tocco di Napoli lasciò un segno significativo sulla storia del Impero Latino in Oriente medievale. Per cinque generazioni nel corso dei secoli XIV e XV (c. 1357–1479), la famiglia governò le isole Ionie, Epiro e parti del Peloponneso. Questa monografia esplora l'ascesa alla prominenza e potere che i Tocco esercitano dopo il loro insediamento in Grecia. Perciò, i punti focali del questo studio sono i processi e dispositivi che facilitarono la migrazione della famiglia dal Sud italiano alla Grecia e il loro successo in un ambiente estraneo e generalmente famigerato per la sua volatilità, derivando ampiamente da varietà etniche e religiose e scontri forti tra le 'superpotenze' del tempo (gli Angioini di Napoli, il Bisanzio, repubbliche maritime Genova e Venezia, gli Ottomani, ecc.).

Sulla base di un'ampia documentazione archivistica e sul confronto dei diversi tipi di fonti, questo rapporto sui Tocco di Grecia tiene conto di tutti i parenti documentati, le loro relazioni reciproche e le loro relazioni con il mondo intorno durante il ciclo della loro migrazione tra il Sud italiano e Grecia. Questa attenzione a livello micro ha rivelato che la famiglia era già diventata prominente nella seconda metà del XIII secolo. La base prima della nobiltà dei Tocco era il loro possesso della terra nella regione di Benevento, meglio così che come il servizio di alcuni Tocco all'amministrazione Hohenstaufen che funzionò nel sud della penisola. Più tardi, famiglia aumentò il suo potere con l'istituzione della dinastia angioina nel Reame (1266), in cui i più notevoli Tocco si trasferirono da Benevento a Napoli. Là, sono entrati nella *famiglia* reale, mentre la loro connessione diretta con il ramo principesco angioino di Taranto ulteriormente spinse il movimento di ramo più giovane della famiglia verso la Grecia – in primo

luogo, servendo l'amministrazione angioina a Corfù (Guillelmo Tocco nei primi anni del 1330), poi governando le isole Ionie (Leonardo, dalla metà del 1350). I primi Tocco governanti dell' Eptaneso mantenevano forti legami con i fattori essenziali dell'alleanza guelfa del XIV secolo, soprattutto il trono angioino a Napoli, la Curia papale e l' aristocrazia "antica" fiorentina. Il potere indipendente dei Tocco nella regione è certamente collegato con il decadimento degli interessi angioini in Grecia, ma anche è il risultato diretto della loro estensione territoriale in Epiro e Peloponneso, che si è svolto sotto il figlio di Leonardo I, Carlo I (r. c. 1390–m. c. 1429). Dopo esser diventato ufficialmente il sovrano di Epiro, Carlo I rinforzò il suo potere con i simboli imperiali bizantini e con le alleanze locali, tra cui i più intense erano le relazioni con la Repubblica di Venezia e con gli Ottomani. Questo corrupe il modello precedente della alleanza ideale per la famiglia, ma, al tempo stesso, facilitò le aspirazioni di loro nuovi alleati al possesso familiare. Nel dominio allargato, l'espansione di Carlo I non produsse l'amministrazione efficace, né portò la famiglia alla vera interazione con i suoi soggetti locali, per cui, immediatamente dopo la morte di Carlo I, il potere degli eredi e successori di Carlo diminuì, risultando, di conseguenza, con la perdita di Epiro (1449), e, infine, la caduta delle isole Ionie agli Ottomani (1479).

I fattori importanti che contribuirono al declino dei Tocco nell' Eptaneso erano rapporti interni tra i parenti Tocco. Dopo la morte di Carlo I, il principio della successione verticale attraverso la primogenitura dal matrimonio legittimo, che la famiglia aveva osservato prima della loro migrazione, è stato contestato dai figli naturali di Carlo I, chi parteciparono nella divisione del dominio familiare. Un altro cambiamento importante della struttura familiare accadde con la nuova strategia matrimoniale. Durante il picco della loro potenza in Grecia (sotto Leonardo I e Carlo I), le alleanze coniugali della famiglia erano incestuose, colleganti i Tocco con il cerchio endogamico intorno agli Acciaiuoli di Firenze. L'apertura di Tocco verso le altre famiglie, sia regionali sia italiane, portò un buon allargamento della base propria di alleanze, ma, al tempo stesso, causò una ulteriore frammentazione del dominio e della potenza familiare. Un'altra modifica che specificamente affettò l' organizzazione interna della famiglia dal Carlo I era la sua privatizzazione dei legami feudali, in cui i servitori i più privilegiati del dominio erano i parenti più stretti dei capi del ramo (incluso le loro donne le quale ebbero una parte attiva nel governo del dominio), o i parenti dal Sud italiano, mentre i soggetti greci di Tocco erano stati lasciati fuori dall'elite privilegiata del

dominio (malgrado gli accenni di propaganda su 'cosmopolitismo' dei Tocco). Altri fattori che ebbero spintonato il potere dei Tocco in Grecia erano le abilità personali dei loro capi, gli strumenti diplomatici e le loro alleanze sociali, così come le loro attività economiche – specialmente gli interessi della famiglia per commercio – particolarmente evidenti nel tempo di Carlo I e del suo erede, Carlo II.

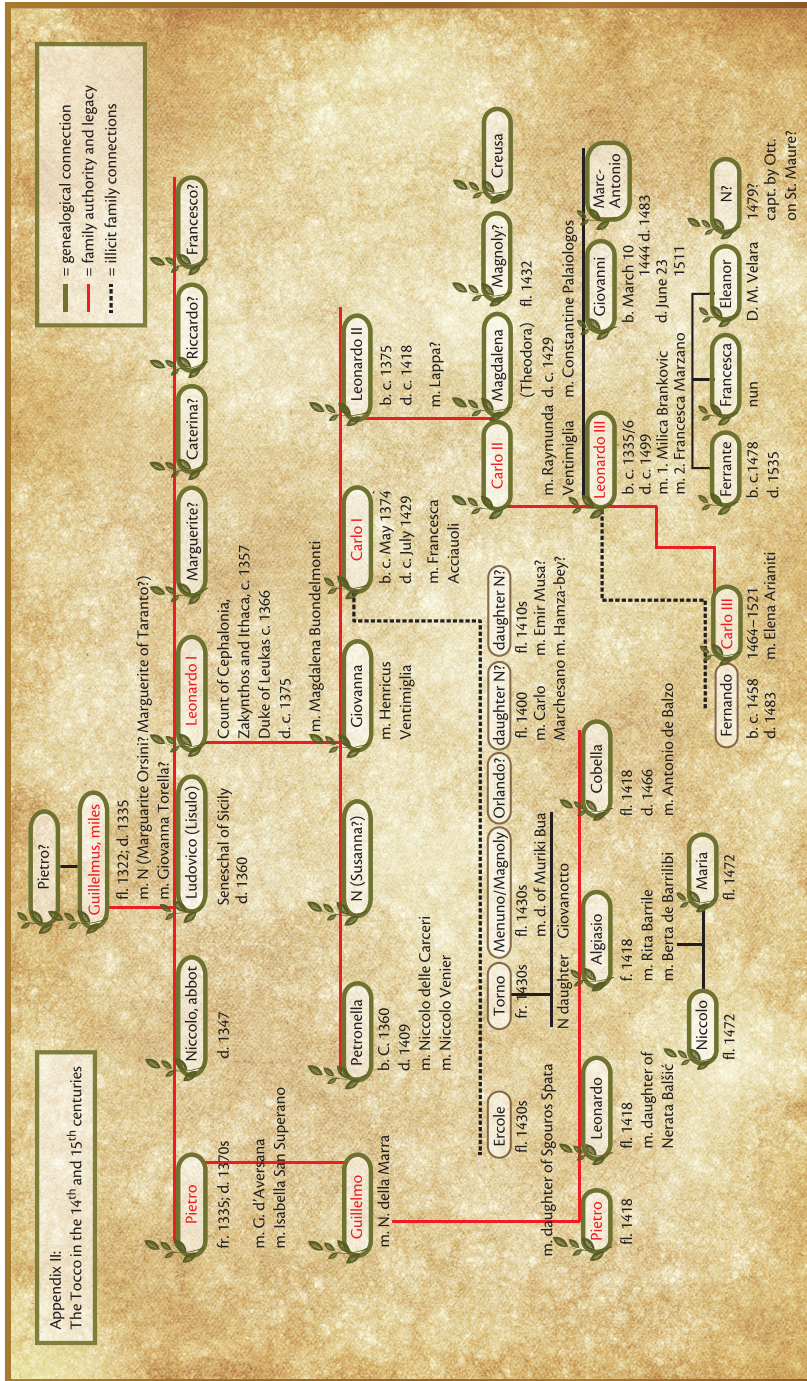
Fin dai tempi di Leonardo I, la famiglia vide il loro trasferimento da Napoli a Grecia come un fatto permanente. Il questo fatto, tuttavia, non causò alcun cambiamento importante nell'identità della famiglia – da cinque generazioni in Grecia, i Tocco si sono identificati come italiani, latini e cattolici, anche in situazioni in cui usarono ufficialmente i simboli imperiali bizantini. I primi accenni concreti di cambiamento in questo senso si trovano nelle fonti solo dopo il rimpatrio di Leonardo III Tocco (r. c. 1452–m. p. 1494) a Napoli (1479), ma allora, i questi suggerimenti servirono a migliorare la re-integrazione della famiglia alla nobiltà locale e alla nuova dinastia in Napoli (Casa reale d'Aragona). Sia importante sottolineare qui che la questa re-integrazione non era stata tentata dall'accento sul luogo che i Tocco antenati avevano avuto nella colonizzazione angioina dell'Oriente bizantino, ma, piuttosto, per l'enfasi delle risorse greche e le attività del potere della famiglia, una volta goduti in Grecia.



Political alliances of the Tocco during Leonardo I (cc. 1357–cc. 1374)



Political alliances of the Tocco during Carlo I (cc. 1374–cc. 1429)



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1. Tocco Caudio, Benevento – historical center, abandoned after the earthquake of 1980.



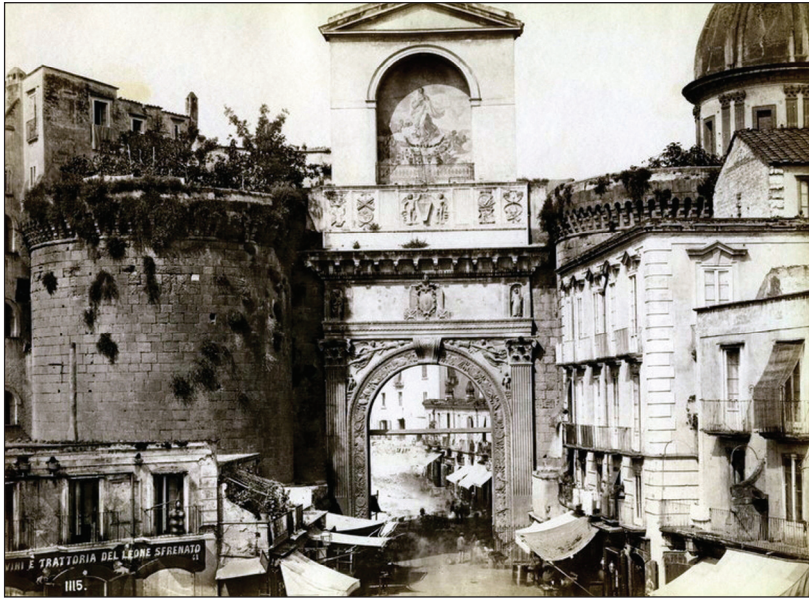
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3. New Castle, Naples – Aragon structure, 15th c., interior courtyard.



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7. Il Duomo, Naples, current view – Gothic façade, 14th c.



8. Andrea di Bonaiuto, *Via veritatis*, detail (c. 1368) – fresco painting in the Cappellone degli Spagnoli, Santa Maria Novella, Florence. Female figures in the lowest row represent (from right to left): Lappa Acciaiuoli (mother-in-law of Leonardo I Tocco), Bridget of Sweden, Catherine of Sweden and Queen Joanna I of Naples.



9. Tocco coat-of-arms.



10. Niccolo Acciaiuoli, Andrea del Castagno, Uffizzi, Florence.



11. Torre dei Buondelmonti, Florence.



12. Castle St. Maure, Leukas – Venetian structure.



13. Castle St. Maure, Leukas
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14. Medieval fortification of Corinth, current view.



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16. Ioannina, upper tower – Ottoman structures.



17. Ag. Hodegetria church, Leukas – 15th c.



18. Ag. Hodegetria church, Leukas – 15th c., entrance with an inscription, current view – the inscription is hardly accessible and illegible.



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20. The Tocco palace, Naples – via Toledo, current view.

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